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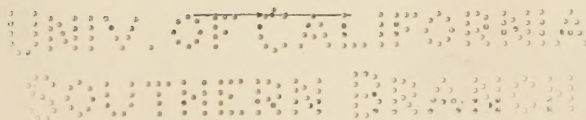


THE  
PHILIPPICS  
OF  
DEMOSTHENES

EDITED BY

FRANK BIGELOW TARBELL

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



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## PREFACE.

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THE present edition of the Philippic Orations of Demosthenes aims to meet the wants of the American student. The text is that of the Zürich edition (in Baiter and Sauppe's *Oratores Attici*), from which, except in matters of orthography and punctuation not affecting the sense, only a single departure has been admitted; to this, which occurs in Phil. II, 12, attention is called in the Notes. The Introduction follows in its main features, and occasionally in its phraseology, the Introduction given by Rehdantz, in his edition of the Philippics; for the most part, however, it has been re-written, in especial reliance upon Schæfer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*. The historical portions are designed to furnish the student who is already familiar with the outlines of Greek History with such additional information as will enable him to understand the historical allusions in the accompanying orations. Sections 61-2, based upon Blass's *Attische Beredtsamkeit*, Bd. III, call attention to certain points which are not brought out in ordinary accounts of Demosthenes. Anything in the way of a general sketch of Greek oratory, or of a special

characterization of Demosthenes, seems unnecessary in a work like the present, in view of the accessibility of Jebb's *Primer of Greek Literature*. In the preparation of the Notes, the freest use has been made of all available helps, especially the annotations of Sauppe, Franke, Westermann, Rehdantz, and Heslop. The Analyses are, in the main, taken from Blass's *Attische Beredtsamkeit*.

The Editor will be grateful for suggestions or corrections of any sort.

FRANK B. TARBELL.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., May, 1880.

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The references in the Notes to lexicon and grammars have been changed so as to conform to the latest editions; a few other corrections have been introduced.

F. B. TARBELL.

CHICAGO, ILL., November, 1899.



## INTRODUCTION.



## INTRODUCTION.

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### The Spartan Hegemony.

THE Athenian Hegemony, established in 477-476 B.C., and upheld and strengthened until the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431, had, at the conclusion of that war in 404, fallen to pieces (ix. 23). The long struggle with Sparta had reduced Athens to abject weakness. Without allies, without ships, without Long Walls, her treasury and her citizens impoverished, Athens became for several years a cipher in the general politics of Greece. Sparta, on the other hand, now entered on a career of supremacy. Her control over the coasts and islands of the Ægean was secured by overthrowing the existing governments of the cities, and creating in each an oligarchy of ten citizens, called a dekarchy or dekadarchy, subservient to the Spartan policy, and supported by a Spartan harmost and garrison. With these tools at her disposal, Sparta exercised over the Greek world an oppression which was soon felt to be intolerable.

Effective resistance to this oppression began at Thebes. 2  
In 395 this state became involved in hostilities with Sparta, and Athens, now somewhat revived, was easily induced to join the struggle against her hated conqueror. At the instance of the Thebans she sent into Bœotia a force of hoplites and cavalry, which, to be sure, arrived at Haliartus just after the Thebans had won a decided victory over one Spartan army, but which did material service to the cause by completing the discouragement of the remaining Spartan troops, and so causing their hasty retreat into the Peloponne-

sus (iv. 17) Encouraged by the success of these efforts, Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos now combined against Sparta in a war, which, from being carried on mainly in Corinthian territory, was called the Corinthian War. Of the Athenian generals who figured in this contest, Polystratus, Iphikrates, Chabrias, and others, Iphikrates was the most prominent, distinguishing himself by the state of efficiency to which he brought his army of Athenians and mercenaries, and especially by his exploit, long remembered by the Athenians with extreme pride, of annihilating a Spartan mora, or division of 600 men, at Lechæum (iv. 23-4).

- 3 The Corinthian War dragged along indecisively for several years, until, in 387, the Spartan Antalkidas succeeded in inducing the King of Persia to impose peace upon the Greek world. The Peace of Antalkidas nominally secured autonomy to every Greek State, except that the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, which had been acquired by Athens about a century before, were suffered to remain as portions of Athenian territory (iv. 27, 32, 34); but actually the Spartans, who were entrusted with the execution of the terms of the Peace, made use of it to maintain their own ascendancy. Their despotic hold upon the Greek cities was not relaxed until, in 379, the expulsion by the Thebans of the Spartan garrison which had for three years occupied their citadel, gave the
- 4 signal for a general revolt. Athens at once exerted herself to establish a new maritime confederacy, having for its object resistance to the hated oppression of Sparta. She renounced all interference with the domestic affairs of her allies, even promising that her citizens should not be permitted to acquire property in the territory of any member of the confederation; the allies were all to stand on an equal footing, and their common interests to be cared for by a Federal Diet sitting in Athens; finally, the pecuniary contributions needed were fixed at a moderate figure, and called by a new name, — *syntaxis* instead of *phoros*, — in order to avoid the associations which had

gathered around the latter word in the Confederacy of Delos. Founded on these just and mutually satisfactory terms, the new confederacy came, by the year 373, to number upwards of seventy cities, chiefly on the coasts and islands of the Ægean, but including also Thebes. The strength of the league was turned against Sparta in the so-called Boeotian War, and the naval victory of Naxos, won by the Athenian commander, Chabrias, over the Spartans in 376, may be regarded as marking the downfall of the Spartan Hegemony (ix. 23). It was, however, reserved for the Thebans, now dissociated from the Athenian confederacy, to inflict upon the Spartans at Leuktra, in 371, that crushing defeat which reduced them thenceforth to the third place among the states of Greece.

### Greece at Philip's Accession.

In Boeotia, the Peace of Antalkidas, so long as it was observed, had maintained the several communities in independence of one another, but within a few years after the uprising in 379, Thebes had succeeded, by dint of destroying cities hostile to herself, as Plataea and Thespiæ, in uniting the whole district under her own headship. The victory at Leuktra raised this unified Boeotia to the rank of a widely influential state (ix. 23). Under the guidance of the great general and statesman Epaminondas, the Thebans extended their authority over the adjacent districts, — Phokis, Lokris, Malis, Eubœa, most of Thessaly, etc. They even pushed their influence into the Peloponnesus. Here the Arcadians, who had long been submissive allies of Sparta, were organized into an anti-Spartan confederacy, dependent upon Thebes. Messenia was torn from Laconia, and made an independent state. Other Peloponnesian states made common cause with Thebes. And though with the death of Epaminondas, in 362, Thebes declined in influence, she remained without dispute the strongest continental power in Greece. 5



6 Athens, too, maintained and extended her maritime power between 371 and 357. During this period Samos was successfully besieged, treated as an Athenian possession, and occupied by Athenian *kleruchs*; the region round the Thermaic Gulf, including the important towns of Pydna, Potidaea, and Methone, was captured (iv. 4), and to Potidaea Athenian *kleruchs* were sent (vi. 20); and other acquisitions were made. And, in 357, when some of the Eubœan cities (see § 5) got into difficulties with Thebes, and applied to Athens for help, the Athenians, with a promptitude and energy rare for that generation, sent thither a force which rescued the threatened cities, and brought the whole island under Athenian control (iv. 17).

7 But though, at the moment of Philip's accession, Athens presented an outward show of prosperity and power, events soon showed that she was unfit to grapple with a strong and determined enemy. In comparison with the Age of Pericles, the Age of Demosthenes was an age of decline in political wisdom and prudence, in patriotism, in vigor, — a decline not peculiar to Athens among the states of Greece, but most striking there, because of the greater prominence of the city and the greater things expected of her. Thus, whereas in the fifth century, *B.C.*, the Athenians had been forward to risk their lives in military service, in the fourth century they were extremely reluctant to undergo its hardships, and put forth its efforts. Hence the employment of mercenaries (*ἐξέροι*) became more and more common. "There arose (as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in modern Europe) Condottieri like Charidemus and others, — generals having mercenary bands under their command, and hiring themselves out to any prince or potentate who would employ and pay them. Of these armed rovers, — poor, brave, desperate, and held by no civic ties, — Isocrates makes repeated complaint, as one of the most serious misfortunes of Greece." (Grote, *Hist. Greece*, vol. xi., p. 393.) And whereas at the beginning of

the century the mercenaries employed by Athens in the Corinthian War had been only an adjunct to the citizen force (see § 2), it had become common by the middle of the century to entrust military expeditions entirely to mercenaries (iv. 24), while the citizens remained at home. Even the generals and other army-officers shared the prevailing aversion to taking the field, and all but one of the number habitually staid in Athens, content with figuring there in festival-day processions (iv. 26).

Not only, however, were the military undertakings of Athens entrusted to mercenaries, but these mercenaries were only irregularly and insufficiently paid. As the Theoric Fund (see § 51) absorbed all the money of the public treasury not needed for other peace expenses, and as the Athenians were unwilling to relinquish or reduce this Fund, the necessary means for paying an army could be raised only by the unpopular method of a direct property-tax. To this method they were slow to resort; and the general in command, not receiving from Athens the wages-money due and promised to his soldiers, might neglect the object for which he had been sent out, and cruise about the Ægean, forcing contributions from helpless allies (iv. 21, 45); or he might even enter temporarily into the service of some foreign power which promised to reward him well; as, in the midst of the Social War (see § 10), the Athenian general Chares, without authorization from home, entered into the service of Artabazos, the revolted satrap of Daskylium (iv. 24). It is no great wonder that, in such a state of things as this, the generals came to feel estranged from their city, or that, on the other hand, politicians at home, ignorant of military affairs, brought frequent and often wholly undeserved charges of high treason against the generals (iv. 47).

It would, indeed, be a mistake to represent the Athens of the Age of Demosthenes as making only small sacrifices in war. Her total outlay in men and money was great. But

her efforts were fitful, tardy, inefficient. Again and again, owing to lack of previous preparation and of proper energy, costly expeditions arrived at their destinations too late to do any thing (see §§ 17, 18, 21). And it was only in exceptional crises (see §§ 6, 22) that the Athenians could throw off their apathy and act in a manner worthy of their forefathers.

### The Social War.

10 The Athenian confederacy became in twenty years unpopular, for Athens did not long maintain the spirit of justice in which she had organized that league. Her allies became alarmed at her self-aggrandizing schemes, exhibited in the acquisition of territory for her private advantage (see § 6), and they became indignant at the treatment which they received from her generals (see § 8). On these grounds all the larger members of the confederacy except Eubœa and Lesbos, viz., Chios, Kos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, revolted in 357. Thus began the Social War, in which Athens made feeble efforts to bring back the seceding states, and which ended in 355 with the recognition of their independence. Not only, therefore, was the attention of Athens partly diverted from Philip during the first years of his aggressions, but the public treasury was reduced by the loss of a considerable part of the contributions from allies. Thus doubly did the Social War favor the cause of Macedon.

### Progress of Philip from 359 to 351.

11 Down to the time of Philip, Macedonia was a state of small political importance. The mass of its people, though seemingly of a race akin to the Greeks, had had throughout the historic period no community of development with the Greeks. Rude and fierce, they were accounted barbarians by the Greeks, and despised accordingly. Not so the Macedo-

nian kings. These, according to a generally accredited tradition, were genuine Hellenes. It was believed, and perhaps it was true, that in pre-historic times, say in the eighth century, B.C., an Argive family had settled in Macedonia, and acquired sovereignty there; and that from this family the subsequent line of kings was descended.

These kings gradually extended their frontiers, and some 12 of them made efforts to introduce Greek culture; but, until the time of Philip, they did not succeed in building up a strong nation. The country was a prey to intestine feuds, especially on the occasion of the death of a king; for, in the absence of any recognized law of royal succession, such an occasion was the signal for bloody struggles between the several claimants to the throne. So it was at the death of Perdikkas III, 13 in 359. Among the various competitors at the time, one was Perdikkas's brother Philip, then in the twenty-third year of his age. He had spent some years at Thebes as a hostage, where he had had opportunity to familiarize himself with Greek culture, and to study the arts of government and war. During the last few years of his brother's reign he had held vice-regal command over a province of the kingdom, and had thus acquired a military force of some importance. On the throne's becoming vacant, he promptly asserted his claims, and, by virtue of his superior sagacity and vigor, rapidly disposed of his rivals. Once fairly established at home, he proceeded to deal with the Pæonian and Illyrian tribes that harassed his northern and north-western borders. The Pæonians were reduced to a state of quiescence and submission, and the Illyrians, who had pushed into north-western Macedonia in considerable numbers, were driven back beyond Mt. Pindus.

Macedonia was still without a seaboard. The cities about 14 the Thermaic Gulf owned allegiance to Athens (see § 6). The Chalkidian peninsula was dotted with upwards of thirty Greek cities, now united into a confederacy of which Olynthus

was the head. Farther east, near the mouth of the river Strymon, stood the city of Amphipolis, which, founded by the Athenians in 437, and prized as an invaluable possession on account of its commanding position and rapidly acquired strength, had been lost to them twelve years later, and, spite of constant hopes and repeated efforts, never recovered. Athens, then, the Olynthian confederacy, and Amphipolis shut Philip in from the sea.

15 It was in connection with Amphipolis that the tricky and ambitious policy of Philip first became manifest. At the outset of his reign, in making overtures to the Athenians for an alliance, he renounced all pretensions to the possession of that city, to which, however, after having secured his northern and western frontiers, he laid siege, in 357. The Amphipolitans then sent envoys to Athens to implore aid. Compliance with this suit would, in all probability, have enabled Athens, with little effort and in the most amicable way, to regain her much-coveted colony. But simultaneously with the envoys came a letter from Philip, in which he recognized the justice of the Athenian claims to Amphipolis, and promised to surrender it to Athens on its capture. These delusive assurances were listened to. Philip prosecuted the siege unhindered, and effected the reduction of the place in the same year, partly through the aid of traitors within the walls. Thus he acquired a town of great value as a seaport, as commanding the pass over the lower Strymon into Thrace, and as opening the way to the rich gold and silver mines of Mt. Pangæum. To relinquish to Athens a position of such importance was far from being in Philip's plans.

16 The fate of Amphipolis alarmed the neighboring Olynthians, who, during or immediately after the siege just mentioned, sent envoys to Athens to conclude an alliance against Philip. Such an alliance might have proved the salvation of Greece, but the Athenians rejected it. They were still disposed to maintain friendly relations with Philip, and secret negotia-



tions were now on foot, looking to the exchange of Amphipolis for Pydna. Instead, however, of making this exchange, Philip proceeded to take Pydna, in 357, by force of arms. Here, as at Amphipolis, he had the co-operation of a party of traitors, who threw open to him their gates. From this time until 346 Athens and King Philip were in a state of mutual hostility.

The Olynthians having been repulsed by Athens in their 17 offer of alliance, Philip found it possible and convenient to secure for a time their friendship. This he purchased by the cession of Anthemus (vi. 20), whose position made it a desirable member of the Olynthian confederacy; and also by promising to recover for them the neighboring town of Potidaea, which had been taken from them a few years before by Athens (see § 6). This promise was promptly made good. Potidaea was attacked in 356, and though the Athenians sent aid, it arrived too late (iv. 35). The Athenian *kleruchs* in the place were allowed to return to Athens; the other inhabitants were sold into slavery; the city was destroyed, and its territory incorporated with that of Olynthus (vi. 20).

During the following two years or so, Philip's activity was 18 mainly spent in successful struggles with the Thracians, Paionians, and Illyrians, among the last named of whom he is said to have founded strongholds for his own use (iv. 48). But in 353 he attacked Methone, the last remaining possession of Athens on the Thermaic Gulf. Again, as in the case of Potidaea, the armament sent out by the Athenians arrived too late (iv. 35). With the capture of Methone, Philip had excluded Athens forever from the Macedonian coast. With the exception of the Chalkidian peninsula, the whole country from Mt. Olympus to the river Nestus was now under Macedonian rule, and the king was ready for aggressive interference in the midst of Greece itself.

An opportunity soon presented itself. The year 355, which 19 had witnessed the conclusion of the Social War, had witnessed

the outbreak in Greece of another intestine feud, the so-called (Second) Sacred War. The parties to the Sacred War were, on the one hand, Phokis, which, since the battle of Leuktra, had been paying unwilling allegiance to Thebes (see § 5), and on the other, Thebes, with the remainder of her allies. The Phokians secured the nominal alliance of Athens and Sparta, but they received little material aid from abroad. Their main strength came from the temple of Delphi, whose vast treasures they appropriated, at first with the intention of making ultimate restitution, but afterwards as unblushing spoilers. This wealth enabled them to collect a mercenary force formidable enough to give them the advantage over their enemies. In 353 they occupied Thermopylae, a strategic position of immense importance, as the sole and impregnable pass between  
20 Northern and Central Greece. They even extended their influence into Thessaly. Here the two joint tyrants of Pherae were struggling, like their predecessors for fifty years back, to gain undisputed mastery over all Thessaly. With these tyrants the Phokians allied themselves, while the anti-Pheræan party called in the assistance of Philip. At first the Phokians proved more than a match for the king, defeating him in 353 in two battles; but on his return in the spring of 352 they were themselves overwhelmingly defeated, and lost all footing in Thessaly. The tyrants of Pherae had to fly from  
21 before Philip (vi. 22). Pagasæ, the port of Pherae, on the Pagasæan Gulf, was then besieged by him. The siege was long enough to admit of sending to Athens for aid, and an expedition for the purpose was actually despatched by Athens, but was once again too late (iv. 35). Philip appropriated this valuable harbor, as also the district of Magnesia, and became, in fact, virtual master of all Thessaly. The famous Thessalian cavalry was now at his service; his revenues were augmented by Thessalian customs duties; and the possession of another seaport with its shipping greatly increased his capacity for doing mischief on sea. It is now that we begin to

hear of his cruisers as plundering the commerce of the Athenian allies, and as committing depredations at Lemnos and Imbros, at Geræstus, and even at Marathon itself (iv. 34). Worst of all, his proximity to Eubœa made it convenient for him to foment by written communications dissatisfaction in that island (iv. 37).

After securing his position in Thessaly, Philip marched 22 towards Thermopylæ, which was still held by the Phokians. This was a movement most threatening to Athens, and the Athenians were not insensible to their danger. With a promptitude worthy of their best days, they despatched by sea a force, chiefly or wholly citizens, which put the pass in such a state of defense that Philip thought it prudent to retire (iv. 17). For the present, Thermopylæ remained the safeguard of Central Greece.

Repulsed in this quarter, Philip suddenly appeared, in the 23 autumn of the same year (352), in the neighborhood of the Thracian Chersonese, an Athenian possession of great value. He allied himself with Perinthus and Byzantium (ix. 34), gained influence among the Thracian tribes, and laid siege to Heræon Teichos, near the Chersonese. In alarm for the safety of the peninsula, the Athenians voted to raise sixty talents of money, and to despatch at once forty triremes, manned with Athenian citizens (iv. 41). But Philip presently fell sick, and rumors of this, and even of his death (iv. 11), arriving at Athens before the expedition could be got under way, the Athenians subsided into inactivity. Such was the state of affairs when, in the spring of 351, Demosthenes delivered his First Philippic.

### Life of Demosthenes from 383 to 351.

The story of Demosthenes's early life is a story of wrongs 24 suffered and avenged. Born in 383, the son of a wealthy manufacturer, named also Demosthenes, the future orator be-

came an orphan at the age of seven. The elder Demosthenes left behind him a property, large for those times, of about fourteen talents, the bulk of which was entrusted to three guardians for his son. But instead of doubling this property by careful management, as they might well have done, the guardians, in spite of protestations and appeals, criminally squandered it, so that, on becoming of age at the beginning of his eighteenth year, the son and heir received little more than a talent of his inheritance. Shy in manners, and far from robust in health, the young Demosthenes was animated by an intense sense of his wrongs, and with unbounded energy and perseverance sought to redress them. Having fitted himself for his task by a course of instruction under Isæus, the most eminent lawyer of his day, he spent more than five years — such were the opportunities for shifts and evasions afforded to rogues by the Attic courts — in prosecuting the guardians; and though he seems never to have recovered more than a small part of the money which was his due, he succeeded in abundantly vindicating the justice of his cause.

- 25 This experience left a lasting impress upon his life, not only by intensifying his hatred of wrong and desire to right it, but also by determining the career upon which he should enter. He became a *logographos*, or composer of speeches for the use of litigants in the *dikasteries*. And though this profession had been brought into disrepute by the unscrupulousness of many who followed it, there is nothing to show that it ever induced Demosthenes to stoop to any thing dishonorable. At first he devoted himself to civil cases only, but in a few years he began to take up public cases, or cases conducted in the interest of the state. These introduced him into the field of politics. Four speeches in public suits, viz., those Against Androtion, Against Leptines, Against Timokrates, and Against Aristokrates, of which only the one Against Leptines was delivered by the author himself, belong to the years 355–352.

During this period Demosthenes also made his appearance 26 as a parliamentary orator. He addressed the ecclesia for the first time in 354, in an oration *On the Symmories*, and again in 353, in an oration *For the Megalopolitans*. The *First Philippic* probably belongs to the spring of the year 351. There was at the time no special emergency to be met, but the general subject of the war with Macedonia coming up for discussion, as it had often done before, Demosthenes came forward to advise the adoption of measures more efficient than those which had been previously employed. His main recommendation was that a standing force, consisting not of mercenaries only, but of mercenaries and citizens, should be organized and kept in the neighborhood of the Macedonian coast, for the purpose of harassing Philip. This recommendation he urged with arguments and appeals, and with a scorn for the languid policy of his countrymen which in after years he learned to express with somewhat more of moderation (iv. 51). The *First Philippic* "is not merely a splendid piece of oratory, emphatic and forcible in its appeal to the emotions; "bringing the audience by many different roads to the main conviction which the orator seeks to impress; profoundly animated with genuine Pan-hellenic patriotism, and with the dignity of that free Grecian world now threatened by a monarch from without. . . . We find Demosthenes, yet "only thirty [-three] years old — young in political life — "and thirteen years before the battle of Chæroneia — taking "accurate measure of the political relations between Athens "and Philip; examining those relations during the past, "pointing out how they had become every year more unfavorable, and foretelling the dangerous contingencies of the "future, unless better precautions were taken: exposing with "courageous frankness not only the past mismanagement of "public men, but also those defective dispositions of the people themselves wherein such management had its root; "lastly, after fault found, adventuring on his own responsi-



“bility to propose specific measures of correction, and urging  
 “upon reluctant citizens a painful imposition of personal  
 “hardship as well as of taxation.” (Grote, *Hist. Greece*,  
 vol. xi, pp. 442-443).

- 27 We are not informed whether the motion of Demosthenes on this occasion was carried or not. In all probability that feature, at any rate, upon which he justly laid most stress,—the personal participation of the citizens in a permanent expedition,—was not adopted. The habitual listlessness of the Athenians, the insensibility of many to the threatening nature of Philip’s aggressions, the craven feeling in others of inability to cope with him, perhaps, too, the influence of citizens acting in the interests of Macedon, of whom we now hear for the first time (iv. 18), conspired to neutralize the effect of the orator’s magnificent harangue. Yet his words may not have been wholly thrown away, but, apart from the increase of reputation which they must have brought him, may have led to the blockade of the Macedonian coast of which we hear shortly after, and to other measures of which no traces are preserved.

### Fall of Olynthus.

- 28 The powerful city of Olynthus, standing at the head of the Chalkidic confederation, remained for some years in alliance with Philip (see § 17). But his self-aggrandizing policy probably at last aroused the Olynthians’ alarm; and in 352, while he was engaged in Thessaly, the phil-Athenian party among them (ix. 56) brought the city, in disregard of Macedon, to conclude peace (not alliance) with Athens. In consequence of the state of feeling indicated by this move, the relations between Philip and Olynthus became so far from amicable that the former, on his return in 351 from his Thracian expedition (see § 23), made some threatening movement towards the Chalkidian territory (iv. 17). A temporary accommodation was, however, patched up, and during the short term of non-

final friendship which followed, Philip seems to have been at work to win over partisans in the various Chalkidic cities ; his success in Olynthus itself is shown by the banishment from that city of the anti-Macedonian leader, Apollonides (ix. 56, 66). When as much as possible had been done in the way of 29 secret intrigue, he proceeded in 349 to overt hostilities ; which, to be sure, until he was within five miles of Olynthus, he declared were not directed against that city itself (ix. 11). The Olynthians, not deceived by this flimsy pretense, appealed, in their extremity, to Athens to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance. Demosthenes, in his three Olynthiac Orations, seconded the appeal, and with success. The alliance was accepted and aid sent in three successive expeditions, but all to no purpose. One after another the cities of the peninsula fell before the arms of Philip, until, at last, in 348, the treason of the two cavalry commanders, Lasthenes and Euthykrates, consigned Olynthus to a like fate (vi. 21 ; ix. 56, 66). Such of the inhabitants as had not perished in battle or made their escape from the district, were sold into slavery, and their cities, thirty-two in number, were razed to the ground (ix. 26).

### The Conclusion of the Peace of Philokrates.

The destruction of the Chalkidic cities was in itself enough 34 to spread horror and alarm throughout Greece, but the effect of these disasters upon Athens was made ten-fold greater by the fact that numerous Athenian citizens, serving in Olynthus, had been taken captive by Philip. Add to this that since the accession of Philip, the Athenian confederacy had been steadily dwindling, so as now to include only the smaller maritime states, such as Thasos, Skiathos (iv. 32), Peparethus, Prokonnesus, Tenedos, etc., and that the military efforts of Athens, tardy and ineffectual as they had been, had yet made a heavy drain upon the resources of the state, and one cannot wonder that a cessation of hostilities came to be eagerly

31 desired. Even before the fall of Olynthus the Athenian actors, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, whose profession secured their safety in a hostile country, had brought from Philip assurances of his readiness for peace with Athens. So had also Ktesiphon, who had gone to Macedonia on an embassy in the midst of the war (vi. 28). On the renewal of these assurances through Aristodemus after the destruction of Olynthus, a certain Philokrates proposed in the Athenian assembly that an embassy of ten men be sent to Philip to treat for peace. The motion was passed, and among the envoys appointed were the mover, Philokrates, and the orators, Æschines and Demosthenes. On most of these men Philip made a very favorable impression, which, in several cases, he probably strengthened by means of bribes (vi. 34). They returned to Athens early in the spring of 346, and were followed shortly after by Macedonian plenipotentiaries. Hereupon Philokrates, who was almost certainly in the pay of Philip, moved that peace and alliance be concluded between Philip and his allies on the one hand, and Athens and her allies, but with the exception of the Phokians, on the other, on the terms proposed by the king; viz., that each party retain its present  
32 possessions. The proposal to exclude the Phokians from the treaty was one both dishonorable and dangerous to Athens; dishonorable, because they were allies of Athens (see §19), and dangerous, because, if they were left alone to withstand Philip, he was likely to effect the passage of Thermopylæ, and so have unhindered access into Central Greece. To this excluding clause, therefore, strong opposition was made by Demosthenes and other patriots; but the Macedonian plenipotentiaries were firm in insisting upon it, and philippizing Athenian orators, such as Philokrates and Æschines, represented that the refusal to admit Phokis to the treaty by no means indicated hostile designs on the part of Philip against that state, but was due to his unwillingness to offend the enemies of Phokis, the Thebans and Thessalians, with whom he was on friendly

terms. The Athenians, in their desire for an end of the war, suffered themselves to be persuaded, and, insisting only on the omission of the excluding clause from the letter of the convention, tacitly complied with its requirements by swearing in the presence of the Macedonian envoys the customary ratifying oaths, together with the representatives of their allies generally, but not of the Phokians. The ten Athenian 33 ambassadors were then directed by the people to make a second journey to receive the oaths of Philip and his allies (vi. 29). Now Philip was engaged at the time in pushing his conquests in Thrace, to the injury of Athens; and as he was likely to interpret his agreement with Athens so freely as to retain everything he could get up to the moment of completing by his oath the ratification of the treaty, it was important to check his operations as soon as possible. But in spite of the remonstrances of Demosthenes, the embassy lingered in Athens, loitered on the way, and finally refused to go to Philip in Thrace, but waited for him at Pella, his capital. Fifty days after their departure from Athens, Philip returned home, having in the interval captured stronghold after stronghold on the Thracian coast, of which some, as Serrhium and Hieron Oros, had been occupied by Athenian garrisons shortly before peace negotiations began (ix. 15).

At Pella, embassies from Sparta, Thebes, Phokis, and other 34 Greek states, as well as that from Athens, awaited him. With these in his train, he marched on into Thessaly, all the while leading the Phokians to believe that he meant them no harm (ix. 11), and holding out hopes of advantage to everybody. Finally, on reaching Pheræ, he swore the Peace of Philokrates, and the Athenian envoys took their departure, arriving at Athens about the middle of the summer of 346, after an absence of seventy days. Demosthenes was now 35 thoroughly alarmed at the position of affairs, and at a meeting of the senate (*βουλή*), of which he was a member, he conjured the city not to abandon Thermopylae and the Pho-

kians. But in the assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) of the following day, Æschines still held out his encouraging assurances: Philip meant no harm to the Phokians, but would humble Thebes and rebuild the cities of Thespise and Plataea (see § 5); he would hand over Eubœa (see § 11) to Athens as a price for Amphipolis (see § 15), to which the Athenians still fondly cherished their claims; he would even, so Æschines hinted, re-attach to Attica the frontier town of Oropus, which, twenty years before, had passed into the hands of Thebes (vi. 29, 30; ix. 11). In vain did Demosthenes protest. The people preferred agreeable falsehoods to disagreeable truths, and laughed approvingly when Philokrates cried out, "No wonder, men of Athens, that Demosthenes and I do not think alike; for he drinks water, but I, wine" (vi. 30). A vote of the people extended the peace to the descendants of the contracting parties (vi. 31), and demanded of the Phokians the surrender of the temple at Delphi to its immemorial defenders, the Amphiktyons. Deserted thus by Athens, the Phokian army capitulated, and Philip, being now unhindered at Thermopylæ (vi. 7, 35), entered at once into Central Greece.

36 He concealed his designs no longer. At a meeting of the Amphiktyonic Assembly, held soon after, not only were the Phokians forever excluded from the Amphiktyonic League, and their votes transferred to Philip and his successors, but the annihilation of the Phokian nation was decreed. This decree was speedily executed. The cities of Phokis were destroyed, and their inhabitants scattered into villages (ix. 19, 23). Many fled the country, which became a scene of desolation and misery. The Thebans and Thessalians, on the other hand, whose forces had joined Philip (vi. 14), received substantial benefits. In the interests of the Thebans the walls of Orchomenus, Koroneia, and Korsiræ, three Bœotian towns which had sided with Phokis, were razed, and all Bœotia was again united under Thebes (vi. 13); while the Thessalians, besides recovering the *Ἡελαία*, or leading place in the



Amphiktyonic Assembly and in the administration of the Temple of Delphi, were presented with the fortress of Nikæa near Thermopylae, and had the district of Magnesia (see § 21) restored to them (vi. 22). Finally, to Philip himself, together with the Thebans and Thessalians, the Amphiktyonic Assembly assigned the presidency of the Pythian games (ix. 32). Philip, in fact, had forced his way into the circle of Hellenic nations, and became henceforth the generally recognized champion of the ancient Amphiktyonic League.

### The Years of Nominal Peace (346-340).

Rudely as the expectations of the Athenians had been dis- 37  
 appointed, the city could not do better than accept the state of things which her own folly had brought about. Philip, on his side, was disposed to abide for a time by the terms of the Peace, at least to the extent of abstaining from direct aggressions upon Athens, though he was far from construing that convention, as Demosthenes does (ix. 17), to require him to subside into inactivity. On the contrary, he was constantly busy in strengthening and extending his power. After an expedition against the Illyrians and Dardanians, he tightened his hold upon Thessaly by occupying with a Macedonian garrison rebellious Phæra (ix. 12), by re-appropriating the harbor-revenues (see § 21), and by putting the whole country under the control of a board of ten of his partisans (vi. 22). In the Peloponnesus, likewise, he made himself felt. Here, 38  
 Sparta was, as usual, in a state of hostility toward Argos and Messene, the latter of which states she was seemingly trying to recover (see § 5) ; but Philip demanded the recognition by Sparta of Messenian independence (vi. 13), and sent mercenaries to Argos and Messene, whom he promised to follow speedily in person (vi. 9, 15). With a view to counteracting his efforts in this quarter, the Athenians sent an embassy into the Peloponnesus, on which Demosthenes served. But the

warnings which the orator addressed to the Argives and Messenians against trusting Philip (vi. 20-25), though well received at the time, worked no lasting effect (vi. 26). Accordingly, a little later, at some time in the year 344, envoys from these states came to Athens to complain of the Athenian adhesion to Sparta. It is presumable that this embassy was instigated by Philip, and indeed, according to one account, envoys from Macedon, arriving at the same time, joined their voices with those of the Peloponnesians. Thus the assembly which met to hear the message of the ambassadors, and, in their presence (vi. 28), to vote a reply, had really to consider, under one of its aspects, the reigning question of the time, the question how to deal with Philip. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes delivered the Second Philippic, an oration which merely served to introduce the reading of a paper proposed by the orator as a suitable reply to the envoys. The harangue urges the Athenians to be watchful against the king, and denounces the philippizing party in the city. As for the reply itself, its tenor can only be guessed, for the document is lost. "The tone of the speech leads us to suppose that the reply made no material concession; . . . yet "it so far satisfied Philip and his allies as to avoid an open rupture." (Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, ch. xlv.)

40 Other Peloponnesian states besides Argos and Messene passed under Philip's control. The Arcadians were devoted to him: and in Elis a philippizing party overthrew the existing government and attached the state to the interests of Macedon (ix. 27). North of the Isthmus, in Megara, a similar attempt was made, but this failed, apparently through the exertions of Athens (ix. 17, 27). Again, the island of Eubœa, whose alliance the Athenians had secured in 357 (see § 6), had early become an object of Philip's intrigues (see § 21). In 350, discords, seemingly fomented by him, had broken out there, the Athenians had taken sides with Plutarch, tyrant of Eretria, who, after betraying them, had quitted the

island with his mercenaries (ix. 57), and all Eubœa had been added to the list of Philip's allies. Still, in the principal cities, 41 phil-Athenian parties maintained themselves or revived. In Chalkis, such a party succeeded in 343-2 in effecting an alliance with Athens, while in Eretria and Oreos the philippizers carried the day. Thus in Eretria the Macedonian faction, headed by Klitarchus, was strong enough to cause the dismissal of an Athenian embassy (ix. 66), and finally to expel their opponents (ix. 57), who took refuge in the port of Porthmus. Philip then sent mercenaries under Hipponikus, razed the fortifications of Porthmus (ix. 33), installed Klitarchus and two others as tyrants of Eretria, and frustrated two attempts of the banished citizens to reinstate themselves (ix. 58). Similarly, in Oreos, the resistance offered by Euphraeus to the philippizing party was of no avail. He was thrown into prison, where he committed suicide, and Macedonian troops assured the possession of the city to its tyrants (ix. 12, 33, 59-62).

An expedition in the winter of 343-2 against Arybbas, 42 king of the Molossians in Epirus, afforded Philip an opportunity to threaten Ambrakia and Leukas, Corinthian possessions, to conclude an alliance with the Ætolians, under the promise of seizing for them Naupaktus, occupied at the time by an Achaean garrison (ix. 27, 34), and in other ways to strengthen himself in that quarter. Fears were aroused that he would in person cross over into the Peloponnesus. The Athenians now bestirred themselves, sent an embassy, consisting of Demosthenes and other patriots, through the Peloponnesus, to stir up resistance to Philip's schemes; and by deeds, as well as words, presented so determined a front that his movements were arrested (ix. 72).

On his return march, the king, in order still further to take 43 from Thessaly the power of dissension and resistance, established tetrarchs, one over each of the four districts, Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Hestireotis (ix. 26). These

tetrarchs, though Thessalians, were creatures of his, and he directed the administration of the country (ix. 33). At the same time he occupied with Macedonian troops Nikæa, near Thermopylæ (see § 36), and Echinus in southern Phthiotis, though the latter city, Boeotian by origin, was claimed by Thebes (ix. 34). These measures accomplished, he abstained for a while from further aggressions in Greece, and opened a new campaign in Thrace, with the determination now to completely subdue that region (ix. 27). Not until the winter of 339-8 did Philip appear again south of Mt. Olympus.

### The Renewal of Hostilities and Subjugation of Greece.

- 44 During the period in which the Peace of Philokrates continued to be nominally observed, the patriotic party in Athens, headed by Demosthenes, had been steadily gaining ground. Shortly after the conclusion of that convention, Philokrates, its chief author, was impeached, and, on his flight from the city, was condemned to death in his absence. And later, when Æschines was brought to trial by Demosthenes for unfaithfulness in the discharge of his duties as ambassador to Macedonia (see §§ 33 ff.), a large minority of the dikasts gave their votes for condemnation.
- 45 In the closing scenes of the struggle for independence, Demosthenes stands forth conspicuously as the leader, not only of his own city, but of all the independence and patriotism that remained in Greece. It was events in Thrace which drew Athens anew into open conflict with Philip. The Athenians had acquired, in 357, a precarious hold upon the Thracian Chersonese, with the exception of the important town of Kardïa on the isthmus, which ultimately allied itself with Philip (ix. 35); and, by way of securing their possession more effectually, a body of *kleruchs* was sent thither, in 343, under the command of a certain Diopceithes (ix. 15).

These settlers got into a quarrel with the Kardians, and when 46 Philip supported the latter with troops (ix. 16), Diopceithes retaliated by collecting a force and making a raid into Thrace. Philip then sent to Athens a letter, remonstrating and threatening (ix. 16, 27); but, though in the assembly which met to consider this communication, the policy of peace at any price was urged by many, Demosthenes, in his oration *On the Chersonese*, defended Diopceithes so vigorously that he was allowed to retain his command, and no concession was made to the king. Not long after, say in the summer of 341, the *Third Philippic* was delivered. It would seem that the debate of which this speech is a product was occasioned by a request for help from the settlers in the Chersonese (ix. 73), and that the earlier speakers confined themselves to the discussion of Thracian affairs (ix. 19); but to the view of Demosthenes the question of the hour was one of far wider scope. It was a question of peace or war, a question which touched the honor and the very existence of all Hellas. All the energy of the orator's nature, all his power of kindling emotions in an audience, all his rare pan-Hellenic patriotism, found expression in the *Third Philippic*. This, the latest of Demosthenes's parliamentary harangues, is also the most eloquent and the noblest.

The prosecution of Philip's plans of conquest in Thrace 47 had soon brought him into collision with his allies (see § 23), the Perinthians and Byzantines, whom he had accordingly prepared to attack (ix. 34). But before the siege of these towns had actually begun, the Athenians, acting on the advice urged by Demosthenes in the *Third Philippic* (§§ 71 ff.), strained every nerve to bring about a general alliance against the aggressor. In this they had no small success. Eubœa was liberated of its tyrants and joined hands with Athens. Better still, the wisdom and the eloquence of Demosthenes effected a reconciliation between Athens and the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium (cf. § 10), which, on being attacked

by Philip, in 340, were so effectively supported by their friends, that the king was baffled and withdrew. At the call of Athens, which had now openly annulled the Peace of Philokrates, Megara, Achaia, Corinth, Leukas, and Kerkyra rallied round the standard of liberty. More than all, Thebes, the long-standing foe of Athens and friend of Philip, was induced, through the efforts of Demosthenes, to change its front and co-operate vigorously in the work of defence.

48 At this moment the resistance which Demosthenes had been making for years with such keen foresight, such burning zeal, such unsullied and catholic patriotism, to the steady advance of conquest, seemed about to be successful. But the task was too great. The opposing armies met for a decisive conflict at Charoneia (338 B.C.) and the overwhelming victory of Philip annihilated forever the independence of Greece. For some years Demosthenes lived in honor in his own city, and the speech *On the Crown*, delivered in 330, was at once his greatest oratorical effort and the successful vindication of his whole public career. Yet even this measure of good fortune was not to last. The hatred of his enemies at home and abroad gathered strength, and his exile from Athens and the self-inflicted death by which he escaped a more ignominious death at the hands of the Macedonians (322 B.C.) closed with a certain tragic fitness the history of his heroic, unavailing contest.

### Athenian Financial and Military Systems.

49 The principal ordinary sources of the Athenian revenue were these: (1) the rent of public property, especially the silver-mines; (2) the taxes paid by resident aliens (*μέτοικοι*); (3) export and import duties and market dues; (4) judicial fees and fines; (5) the contributions (*συντάξεις*) of members of the confederacy. It is to be observed that there was, in general, no direct tax imposed upon the citizens. There was.



however, something not wholly dissimilar in that peculiar arrangement of the Athenian constitution which required wealthy citizens from time to time to discharge for the public good certain services, called *liturgies*. These were of two kinds: (1) Encyclic or ordinary liturgies, having to do with the celebration of religious festivals, and recurring, therefore, at stated intervals. Of this class the most costly were the *choregia* and the *gymnasiarchy*, consisting respectively in the formation, maintenance, and training of a chorus for a dramatic or musical performance, and in the oversight and support of athletes preparing to compete in a gymnastic contest (iv. 36). (2) Extraordinary liturgies, necessary only in time of war. Here belongs especially the *trierarchy*, which involved heavier pecuniary sacrifices than any of the preceding class. In the fifth century, B. C., each trierarch received from the state a war-ship, of which he had to take charge for one year; and, though the state supplied pay for the crew, the trierarch, if patriotic, often expended, in putting and keeping his vessel in a sea-going condition, in securing, by payment of bounties, the most competent seamen possible, and so on, from forty minæ to a talent (\$720-\$1,080). But in the fourth century, a number of men usually combined to perform a single trierarchy. As to the details of the method by which 50 the various liturgical obligations were apportioned on any given occasion among members of the wealthy classes, we are imperfectly informed. But we know that when an appointee considered himself less bound to undertake the burden assigned him than some one else who had been passed over, he could demand of such person to make a complete exchange of property with himself (*ἀντιδόσεις*), or else assume the liturgy. If the demand was refused and both parties persisted, the question would be brought to trial before the proper magistrates, who, in case they decided against the defendant, would give him the option of the alternatives proposed by the plaintiff. Suits of this kind (*ἀντιδόσεις*) were especially common in the

time of Demosthenes, when men resorted to all means for escaping from sacrifices for the public good, and they must evidently have done serious evil in delaying naval preparations in times of need (iv. 36).

51 The revenue, whose sources have been enumerated above, was more than sufficient to carry on the government in time of peace. There was, therefore, an annual surplus, most of which, in the fifth century, was habitually laid by as a war-fund. Pericles, however, had introduced the custom of distributing to poor citizens, at those Dionysiac festivals which were celebrated with dramatic representations, the sum of two obols apiece, to pay the price of admission to the theatre. The moneys thus distributed were called *θεοπικαί* (sight-seeing moneys), and afterward, when it became the practice to make similar distributions on the occasion of other than the Dionysiac festivals, the same name was made to cover all these. After the Peloponnesian War a separate Theoric Fund was established, which soon came to absorb the entire surplus revenue. From this Fund some expenses incurred by the state in the celebration of religious festivals, *e.g.*, for sacrifices, seem to have been defrayed, but the bulk of it was apparently spent in multiplied distributions at the festivals, no longer now to the poor alone, but to rich and poor alike. How much the Theoric Fund usually amounted to, it is, unfortunately, impossible to determine; but there seems no room for doubt that the uses to which it was put were in great part inexcusable and pernicious. Hence we find Demosthenes repeatedly urging the application of this money to war purposes, which measure, however, he did not succeed in carrying through until just before the battle of Chaeroneia.

52 The highest military officers in Athens were the ten generals (*στρατηγοί*), who had supreme command of the army and navy in time of war, and who also exercised sundry administrative and judicial functions at home. Subordinate to

the generals were, for the infantry, the ten taxiarchs, or commanders of battalions, and, for the cavalry, the two hipparchs and their sub-officers, the ten phylarchs. These officers were annually elected, no matter what the state of the country might be, but, with the exception of the thousand knights (*ἱππεῖς*), who were annually chosen from the two highest property-classes, and were liable to military service in time of war, nothing like a standing army was ever maintained in Attica.

In like manner the fleet, in which the strength of Athens 53 always lay, was not kept, in time of peace, in readiness for active service. In the fourth century, B.C., the Athenian navy, though less well cared for than before, was still superior to that of any other state, numbering as it did from three to four hundred triremes. Of these, some were used only as transports for infantry (*τριήρεις στρατιώτιδες*) or cavalry (*τριήρεις ἱππαγωγοί*), while others were proper ships of war (*τριήρεις ταχέλαι*). There were, besides, ships of burden (*πλοῖα*), which carried provisions, equipments, etc., for the use of an expedition.

The population of Attica may be roughly estimated at 54 500,000, among whom only about 90,000 were citizens, the remainder being made up of 45,000 resident aliens or metics, and 365,000 slaves. Of the adult male citizens, whose number may be put at 20,000, those between the ages of 19 and 58, inclusive, were liable to be called upon, by a vote of the popular assembly, to perform military service. The metics also were sometimes drafted, and even the slaves were employed in war, especially as oarsmen and sailors. In the time of Demosthenes, however, the Athenians commonly hired mercenaries to conduct their expeditions (see § 7).

The usual pay of a foot-soldier was two obols (six cents) 55 per day as wages (*μισθός*), and the same amount as provision-money (*σιτηρέσιον, τροφή*); that of a cavalry-soldier three times as much. The crew of a ship of war numbered two

hundred men, who received, on the average, as much as infantry soldiers, so that the wages and provision-money of one crew would amount at least to forty minæ (§ 720) per month. Mercenaries seem to have been engaged on the same terms as citizens.

- 56 Now since, in the Age of Demosthenes, there was no reserve-fund on which to draw in time of war (see § 51), military and naval expenses could not be properly met except by imposing a property-tax (*εἰσφορά*) on the citizens. Such a tax was regarded as a species of extraordinary liturgy, and was submitted to with great reluctance. As far as possible, it was evaded, and in the consequent failure of Athens to pay her troops lay another cause of her inefficiency in war (see § 8).

### Athenian Legislative Bodies.

- 57 The Athenians had two legislative bodies, the *βουλή* and the *ἐκκλησία*. Of these, the former was composed of five hundred men, fifty from each tribe, annually chosen by lot. Thus the *Boulé* fell into ten tribal groups, and these took turns, each for a tenth part of the year, in assuming the chief responsibilities of the entire body. During this period of precedence the members of the group were called *prytanes*, whence their term of office went by the name of *prytany*. Out of the number of the *prytanes* a president (*ἐπιστάτης*) was daily chosen, who, in earlier times, acted as chairman in the meetings of the *Boulé* and the *Ecclesiá*; but, in the fourth century, this *epistatês* chose nine *proëdri* from the nine tribes other than his own, and from among the *proëdri*, finally, another *epistatês* was chosen, who presided in both houses.
- 58 Besides being charged with various administrative functions connected especially with the department of finance, the *Boulé* had for its business to initiate the discussions of the *Ekklesiá*. No subject could constitutionally come before the latter body, until it had been first taken up by the former, and a recommendation in regard to it had been there voted

and embodied in the form of a *προβούλευμα*, or preliminary decree. As a legislative body, the *Boulê* could do no more than this.

The all-powerful agency in the Athenian constitution was 59 the popular assembly or *ἐκκλησία*. All adult male citizens were entitled to be present at the meetings of the *Ekklēsia*, but although there were about 20,000 of these, the number actually present was probably seldom more than 6,000 or 8,000. The usual place of meeting was the so-called *Pnyx*, whose precise location is a matter of controversy. Regular sessions of the *Ecclēsia* were held four times in each *prytany*, and extra sessions, if necessary, could be summoned by the *prytanes*, or by the generals through the *prytanes*.

The meeting was opened with sacrifice and prayer. The 60 *epistatês* then proposed (*προτιθέναι*) the subject of debate, and read the *probouleuma*. The people then voted whether to concur in this recommendation, or to deliberate (*σκοπεῖν* or *βουλευέσθαι*) further on the matter. In the latter case, a crier called upon whoever would to give his advice (*συμβουλεύειν*). Any citizen, except such as were under deprivation of civil rights (*ἀτιμία*) for certain crimes and misdemeanors, was at liberty to speak, though naturally there were only a few whose talents and training fitted them to address so large and turbulent a gathering. These few were called the customary speakers (*οἱ εἰωθότες*), or simply the orators (*οἱ λέγοντες*), or those coming forward (*οἱ παριόντες*). He who wished to speak rose from his seat (*ἀναστῆναι*), went forward (*παριέναι*) to the orator's platform, and gave his opinion (*γνώμην* or *ἄγινώσκει ἀποφήρασθαι*), accompanying his speech, if he chose, with a written motion (*γράφειν*), either modifying or opposing the rejected *probouleuma*. When the discussion was ended, the various motions were set before the people, who voted in general by show of hands (*χειροτονεῖν*, *ἐπιχειροτονεῖν*, *ψηφίζεσθαι*). The decision (*ἡ ἔδοξε*) of the majority was declared by the *epistatês*, and was then recorded and deposited with the public archives.



## Some Features of the Style of Demosthenes.

61 A speech by a great Athenian orator was, in general, written out beforehand, and delivered from memory; and if the exigencies of the public occasion made additions or alterations necessary, these extemporized passages were, in the final revision of the speech by the hand of its author, so elaborated and assimilated to the context as not to be distinguishable by any marks of style. Now one of the most characteristic features of Greek oratory, both as addressed to present audiences, and, still more, as bequeathed in written form to posterity, was an extreme care in the choice and arrangement of words, — a care which, at the present day, is to be found only in poetry. The speeches of Demosthenes, constituting, as they do, the highest achievement of Greek oratorical art, exhibit this exquisite finish of style in a degree which only Greek ears could adequately appreciate, but which is still magical for our own. The presence of this quality makes itself felt by even a cursory reader, and becomes more and more striking on attentive study. Especially noteworthy is Demosthenes's observance of two stringent rules designed to secure smoothness and dignity of style, one of which rules had been imposed upon oratorical prose by the influential rhetorician Isokrates, while the other was seemingly original with Demosthenes himself. They were, *to avoid hiatus*, and *to avoid a succession of more than two short syllables*. Exceptions to the former rule were permitted by our orator only after the article, the relative pronoun, and a few common particles; to the latter, only in the middle of single words, like *γενόμενος*, or in close combinations, like *ὁ πόλεμος*, and then only rarely. It is to be observed, however, that as in poetry the final syllable of a verse is unrestricted as to quantity, and hiatus is permitted between the end of one verse and the beginning of the next, so, in the practice of Demosthenes, the two rules above given do not apply where a pause



occurs in the delivery ; also, that in most texts, the present one included, many elisions, erases, and aphaereses which were made in speaking are left unindicated, so as to produce apparent, but only apparent, cases of hiatus ; and that slight orthographical errors, such as the mistaken insertion of the *ν* movable, have introduced apparent violations of the rhythmic law. Thus, to illustrate these remarks, the first words of the First Philippic were pronounced, Εἰ μὲν περὶ καιροῦ τυρος πράγματος προῖτίθεται Ὀνόμας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγειν, while in the second section of the same oration the hiatus after ἔχει is justified by the pause, and that after τοι is one of the sort which, as above stated, Demosthenes did not scruple to allow himself. The *ἐννεκα* of § 3 ought probably to be written *ἐννεκα*, and it is not until we reach the word *φοβερὸν* in the same section that we encounter an unmistakable case of three short syllables in succession. Contrast this with the style of such writers as Plato or Xenophon, and the difference will immediately become evident.

In the structure of his sentences, Demosthenes exhibits every gradation from simplicity to complexity. Contrast, for instance, the extended but artistic and lucid periods into which the proemia of the accompanying orations are cast, with the short, nervous sentences of impassioned passages like Phil. I, 10. Of metaphor, and rhetorical ornament generally, we find only a sparing use. One favorite means employed by the orator for emphasizing an idea deserves to be noticed, that, namely, of coupling synonymous words. The *εἰδῆτε καὶ θεάσασθε* of Phil. I, 3, is a typical example, and others may be found on nearly every page. Often, as in the case quoted, there seems to be no intentional discrimination of meanings ; often, however, the second of the two words is a more special and precise term than the first, and is most appropriately rendered into English by an adverbial word or phrase, *e.g.* Phil. II, 1, *πράττει καὶ βιάζεται* ; and often, finally, one of the two is a figurative, and the other a usual,

expression for the same idea, *e.g.* Phil. III, 28, *κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διορρογίμεθα*, Phil. III, 12, *ροσόνει καὶ στασιάζουσιν*.

It is not because of the cogency of their logic, or the riches of their thought, that so high a rank is assigned to the speeches of Demosthenes. Their chains of reasoning are simple, and not always convincing; there is in them no profound political wisdom; they share, in one word, that inferiority in variety and value of subject-matter which characterizes all ancient literature in comparison with modern. But in their power to stir the feelings, — a power ever controlled by a perfect taste, — they stand as models for all time. And it is by reading the original Greek, without translating, that this eloquence can be best appreciated.



The following works are recommended to the student:—

Grote, *History of Greece*, Chaps. LXVI–XC, XCV.

Curtius, *History of Greece*, Vol. V.

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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.



# ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.

## IV.

### ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προϋτίθετο, 1  
ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλεί-  
στοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρε-  
σκε τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν  
5 ἤγον, εἰ δὲ μή, τότ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ γιγνώσκω  
λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν  
οὔτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦ-  
μαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης  
τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου  
10 τὰ δέοντα οὔτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν  
ἔδει βουλευέσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 2  
ναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ φαύλως  
ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὃ γάρ ἐστι χεῖριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ  
15 παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα  
βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδέν,  
ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν  
κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσ-  
ῆκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ  
20 βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλ- 3

λων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησκο-  
 μένοις, ἡλικίην ποτ' ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων,  
 ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὥς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως  
 οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ'  
 ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πό-  
 λεμον. τίνας οὖν ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὦ  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσησθε ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε  
 φυλαττομένοις ὑμῶν ἐστι φοβερόν οὐτ', ἂν ὀλιγωρῆτε,  
 τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι  
 χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς 10  
 ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν,  
 καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταραττόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ  
 4 μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρήν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄν-  
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον  
 εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ 15  
 δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ  
 πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ',  
 ὅτι εἵχομέν ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Πύδναν  
 καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον  
 τοῦτον οἰκείον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου 20  
 νῦν ὄντων ἔθνῶν αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα  
 ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ  
 5 κείνῳ. εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν  
 γνώμην, ὥς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστίν Ἀθηναίοις  
 ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας 25  
 ἔρημον ὄντα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίη-  
 κεν ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν.  
 ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκείνος,  
 ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστίν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἄθλα τοῦ



πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς  
 παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν  
 καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων. καὶ γάρ τοι  
 ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται  
 5 καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐλῶν τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ  
 σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιητάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμα-  
 χεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν  
 ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι παρσκευασμένους καὶ πράτ-  
 τειν ἐθέλοντας ἂν χρή. ἂν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 10 ναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐβελήσγητε γενέσθαι  
 γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος  
 ὑμῶν, οὐ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρή-  
 σιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφείς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἔτοιμος  
 πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ  
 15 δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς  
 ἢν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐβελήσγητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσῃσθε  
 αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσῃν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ  
 πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξῃν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ'  
 αὐτῶν κομίσσῃσθε, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατερραθυ-  
 20 μημένα πάλιν ἀναλήψῃσθε, κάκεῖνον τιμωρήσῃσθε.  
 μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῶ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέ-  
 ναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκεῖνον  
 καὶ δέδιεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν  
 πάνν νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν· καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα  
 25 περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔνι, ταῦτα καὶ  
 τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρή νομίζῃν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπτηχε  
 μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν  
 διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, ἣν ἀπο-  
 θέσθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἤδη. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 9

ναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἄνθρω-  
 πος, ὃς οὐδ' αἶρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ  
 ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφά-  
 νους, ὥς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἔχων ἅ  
 κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεί τι προσ- 5  
 περιβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς  
 10 καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄν-  
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε ἅ χρὴ πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί  
 γένηται; ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δί' ἀνάγκη ἦ. νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ  
 τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶομαι τοῖς 10  
 ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περι-  
 ιόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι. “λέγεται τι καινόν;”  
 γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθη-  
 ναίους καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; 15  
 11 “τέθνηκε Φίλιππος;” “οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ.”  
 τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ,  
 ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἂν περ  
 οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ρώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται 20  
 12 ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καίτοι καὶ  
 τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν, ἢ περ  
 αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ  
 τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιοτο, ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἀπα-  
 σιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες 25  
 ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσασθε; ὥς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, οὐδὲ  
 διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ'  
 ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς  
 γνώμαις.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας 13  
 ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἐτοίμως, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ  
 πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς  
 παρασκευῆς ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν τοιούτων πραγ-  
 5 μάτων ἡμᾶς οἶομαι, καὶ τὸ πλήθος ὅσον, καὶ πόρους  
 οὔστινας χρημάτων, καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς ἂν μοι βέλτιστα  
 καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειρά-  
 σομαι λέγειν, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, το-  
 σοῦτον· ἐπειδὰν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ 14  
 10 πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ  
 τινι καινὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ  
 πράγματα ἡγείσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ “ταχὺ” καὶ “τή-  
 μερον” εἰπόντες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν (οὐ γὰρ  
 ἂν τά γε ἤδη γεγενημένα τῇ ἑνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλύσαι  
 15 δυνηθείημεν), ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δείξῃ τίς πορισθεῖσα πα- 15  
 ρασκευὴ καὶ πόσις καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται,  
 ἕως ἂν ἡ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἡ  
 περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ  
 λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ  
 20 ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπαγ-  
 γέλλεται τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη,  
 τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἤδη τὸν ἑλεγχον δώσει· κριταὶ δ'  
 ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις 16  
 25 πεντήκοντα παρασκευάσασθαί φημι δεῖν, εἴτ' αὖ-  
 τοὺς οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν ὡς, εἴαν τι δέῃ, πλεν-  
 στέον εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβᾶσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις  
 τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγοὺς τριήρεις καὶ  
 πλοῖα ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω. ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι 17

δεῦν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰ-  
 κείας χώρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρό-  
 νησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον καὶ ὅποι βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ  
 ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραττῆναι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐκ  
 τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν 5  
 καὶ πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἀλιάρτον καὶ τὰ τελευ-  
 18 ταῖα πρῶν εἰς Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε. οὗτοι  
 παντελῶς οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ὥς ἔγωγέ  
 φημι δεῦν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν; ἢ ἡ διὰ τὸν φό-  
 βον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς (εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς· 10  
 εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ'  
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος) ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἡ  
 παριδὼν ταῦτα ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς ὄντος  
 ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῶν, ἂν ἐνδῶ  
 19 καιρόν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημὶ 15  
 δεῦν καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι· πρὸς δὲ  
 τούτων δύναμιν τινα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημὶ προ-  
 χειρίσασθαι δεῦν ὑμᾶς, ἡ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ  
 κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μὴ μοι μυρίους μηδὲ δις-  
 μυρίους ξείρους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας 20  
 δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἕνα  
 καὶ πλείους καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ὀντινοῦν χειροτονή-  
 σῃτε στρατηγόν, τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει.  
 20 καὶ τροφήν ταύτῃ πορίσαι κελεύω. ἔσται δ' αὕτη  
 τίς ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόσις, καὶ πόθεν τὴν τροφήν ἔξει, 25  
 καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσῃ ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ'  
 ἕκαστον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρίς. ξείρους μὲν λέγω—  
 καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε ὃ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἔβλαψεν·  
 πάντ' ἐλάττω νομίζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ

μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν αἱρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ  
 πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε· ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ  
 ποιήσαντες· καὶ πορίσαντες τοῦτοις προστίθετε, ἅν  
 ἐλάττω φαίνεται. λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας 21  
 5 δισχιλίους, τούτων δὲ Ἀθηναίους φημὶ δεῦν εἶναι  
 πεντακοσίους. ἐξ ἧς ἂν τῆς ὑμῶν ἡλικίας καλῶς  
 ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους, μὴ μα-  
 κρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ  
 διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι  
 10 κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας διακοσίους, καὶ  
 τούτων πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίους τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ  
 τοὺς πεζοὺς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ  
 ἱππαγωγοὺς τούτοις. εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; 22  
 ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα· δεῖ γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου  
 15 ναυτικόν, καὶ ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς  
 ἡ δύναμις πλέῃ. πόθεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφή γενή-  
 σεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδάν,  
 διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ  
 πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.  
 20 Τοσαύτην μὲν, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι 23  
 οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἡμῶν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῃ  
 παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ  
 τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην· οὐ  
 τοίνυν ὑπερόγκον αὐτὴν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ  
 25 τροφή) οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας  
 δὲ παρέῃναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ  
 πρότερόν ποτ' ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Ἰκρίνθῳ  
 τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πολύστρατος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης  
 καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς συ-



24 στρατεύεσθαι · καὶ οἶδα ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους  
 παραταπτόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὔτοι οἱ ξένοι καὶ  
 ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων. ἐξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ  
 ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται, τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς  
 συμμάχους, οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γεγό- 5  
 νασιν. καὶ παρακύψαντα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλε-  
 μον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ μάλλον οἷχεται  
 πλέοντα, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ, εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ  
 25 ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς  
 προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν 10  
 στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας  
 οἰκείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρα-  
 καταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὥς χρώμεθα  
 τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς, “ εἰρήνην  
 ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι;”, “ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἡμεῖς 15  
 26 γε,” εἴποιτ' ἄν, “ ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν.” οὐκ  
 ἐχέιροτονεῖτε δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ  
 στρατηγὸς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο ; τί  
 οὖν οὔτοι ποιοῦσιν ; πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμ-  
 ψητε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπου- 20  
 σιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν · ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάτ-  
 τοντες τοὺς πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε  
 τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν  
 27 πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρ-  
 χους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱππαρχὸν παρ' ὑμῶν, ἄρχοντας 25  
 οἰκείους εἶναι, ἢ ἥν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύνα-  
 μιν ; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππαρχὸν  
 δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων  
 ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν ; καὶ οὐ τὸν



ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει  
κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ.

Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ 28  
δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα  
5 ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα  
τοῖνυν · ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυ-  
νάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς,  
δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἴκο-  
σιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν μναὶ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, στρατιώ-  
10 ταις δὲ δισχιλίαις τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς  
ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς  
δ' ἵππεῦσι διακόςιοις οὖσιν, ἂν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς  
ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα τάλαντα. εἰ 29  
δέ τις οἶεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι, σιτηρέσιον τοῖς  
15 στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν · ἐγὼ  
γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ  
τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐ-  
δένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων,  
ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθέλον-  
20 τῆς πάσχειν ὀτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἂν μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως  
ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ παρ'  
ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

#### ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

Ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα 30  
εὐρεῖν, ταῦτά ἐστιν · ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπιχειροτονῇτε τὰς  
25 γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, χειροτονήσετε, ἵνα μὴ  
μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς  
πολεμῇτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

- 31 Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου  
καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τό-  
πον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας, πρὸς ἣν πολε-  
μεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσαισθε ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμα-  
σι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων 5  
διαπράττεται Φίλιππος, καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας  
ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνικ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυνάμεθα  
32 ἐκεῖσε ἀφικέσθαι. δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους  
μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (ὕστεριουῦμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων)  
ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δ' 10  
ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ  
Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νή-  
σοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἅ χρὴ στρα-  
τεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει· τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε  
καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμά- 15  
των ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν  
ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.
- 33 Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ  
τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν  
βουλευσεται· ἃ δ' ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' 20  
ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἶτα καὶ τᾶλλα  
παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις,  
τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐντελῇ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατα-  
κλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων 25  
αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πρά-  
ξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες,  
παύσεσθ' ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ  
34 πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον

μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου  
 πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς ; ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων  
 τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ ;  
 5 τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὥσ-  
 περ τὸν παρελθόντ' αἰ χρόνον εἰς Λῆμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον  
 ἐμβάλων αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ὥχετ'  
 ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραίστῳ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύ-  
 θητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα εἰς Μαραθῶνα  
 10 ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὥχετ' ἔχων  
 τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε κωλύειν οὔτ'  
 εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἂν προθῆσθε, βοηθεῖν. καί- 35  
 τοι τί δή ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν  
 μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυ-  
 15 σίων αἰ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίνεσθαι, ἂν τε  
 δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἂν τε ἰδιῶται οἱ τούτων ἐκατέρων  
 ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκεται χρήματα  
 ὅσα οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον  
 ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσῃν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν  
 20 ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν  
 ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς  
 Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαν- 36  
 τα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ  
 πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς φυλῆς,  
 25 πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν,  
 οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέλη-  
 ται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου  
 παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα ἀδιόρθωτα ἀόριστα ἅπαντα.  
 τοιγάρουν ἅμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους κα-

θίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ  
 χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμ-  
 βαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκούν-  
 37 τας, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν, εἴτ' ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἴτ' ἐν  
 ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε τὸ ἔφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκ- 5  
 πλέωμεν· τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρα-  
 σκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ  
 μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρω-  
 νείαν. ἅς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις οἰόμεθ'  
 ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἰαί τε οὔσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν 10  
 τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως  
 ἐλήλυθεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἔδη τοιαύτας  
 ἐπιστολάς.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

- 38 Τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων  
 ἀληθῆ μέν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὥς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' 15  
 ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέα ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν, ὅσα ἂν τις  
 ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα  
 ὑπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν· εἰ δ' ἡ  
 τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἥ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία  
 γίνεται, αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φενα- 20  
 κίζειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους ἃ ἂν ἥ  
 39 δυσχερῇ πάντων ὑστερίζειν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ  
 τοῦτο δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ  
 χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτοὺς ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν 25  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειέ  
 τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγ-

μάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἵν' ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ,  
 ταῦτα πράττηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀναγκάζων-  
 ται διώκειν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείσ- 11  
 την δύναμιν ἀπάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις, ὀπλίτας, ἱπ-  
 5 πέας, χρημάτων πρόσδοτον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς  
 τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτε εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε,  
 οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύ-  
 ουσιν, οὕτω πολεμεῖν Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ  
 πληγεὶς αἰὲν τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, καὶν ἐτέρωσσε πα-  
 10 τάξης, ἐκείσε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ  
 βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς, 11  
 εἰαν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκείσε βο-  
 θεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, εἰαν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκείσε, εἰαν ἄλλοθί  
 που, συμπαραθεῖτε ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγείσθε  
 15 μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖ συμ-  
 φέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 προορᾶτε οὐδέν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγενημένον ἤ γιγνό-  
 μενόν τι πύθησθε. ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν  
 ἐνῆν· νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤκει τὴν ἀκμήν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ'  
 20 ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 12  
 ναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνό-  
 μενος τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φι-  
 λίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ὁ κατέστραπται καὶ προείλη-  
 φεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν ἔπραττεν ἔτι,  
 25 ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνην  
 καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχιστα ὠφληκότες  
 ἂν ἡμεν δημοσίᾳ· νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεὶ τι καὶ τοῦ  
 πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ' ὑμᾶς,  
 εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε. θαυμάζω δ' 43



ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μήτ' ὀργίξε-  
 ται, ὁρῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ  
 πολέμου γεγεννημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φί-  
 λιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν οὖσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ  
 παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ 5  
 στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μή τις κωλύσει. εἴτα τοῦτ'  
 ἀναμενοῦμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενᾶς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ  
 δεῖνος ἐλπίδας ἔαν ἀποστείλῃτε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε  
 44 καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα; οὐκ ἔξιμιν αὐτοὶ μέρει  
 γέ τινι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; 10  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευσόμεθα; Ποῖ οὖν προσορ-  
 μιούμεθα; ἤρετό τις. εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρά, ὦ ἄν-  
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ  
 πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν. ἂν μέντοι καθώμεθα  
 οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων 15  
 ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ  
 45 γένηται τῶν δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἂν, οἶμαι, μέ-  
 ρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῇ, καὶ μὴ πάντα, καὶ  
 τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης συναγωνίζε-  
 ται. ὅποι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ 20  
 τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψῃτε, οὐδὲν  
 ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ κατα-  
 γελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοι-  
 46 ούτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα  
 ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πράξαι πάνθ' ὅσα 25  
 βούλεσθε. ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν  
 δεῖνα αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἔστιν. τὰ δὲ  
 πράγματα ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν. ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται  
 μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ'



ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι  
 ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσγητε ὅ  
 τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν;

Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες 41  
 5 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ  
 μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικαστὰς οἵκαδ'  
 ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς  
 τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν. νῦν δ'  
 εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχύνης, ὥστε τῶν  
 10 στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν  
 περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ  
 ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνα-  
 τον μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούρ-  
 15 γου μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ  
 μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιού- 48  
 ντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν  
 τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν,  
 οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν  
 20 Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δέ — λόγους πλάττον-  
 τες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ 49  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ  
 μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνει-  
 ροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυ-  
 25 σόντων ὁρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρμένον,  
 οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δι' οὕτω προαιρεῖσθαι πράττειν,  
 ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί  
 μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ  
 λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶ- 50

μεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς  
 ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολλὸν ὑβρίζει, καὶ ἅπανθ'  
 ὅσα πώποτ' ἡλπίσαμεν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν  
 καθ' ἡμῶν εὖρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν  
 ἐστι, καὶ μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, 5  
 ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, — ἂν  
 ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες  
 καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα  
 ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλ', ἂν μὴ προσ-  
 ἐχῃτε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα 10  
 ποιεῖν ἐθέλητ', εὖ εἰδέναι.

51 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν  
 εἰλόμην λέγειν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν πεπεισμέ-  
 νος ᾧ, νῦν τε ἃ γινώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑπό-  
 στειλάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, 15  
 ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα,  
 οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοίσον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι·  
 πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον εἶπον. νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοις οὖσι  
 τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ  
 συνοίσειν, ἐὰν πράξῃτε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν 20  
 αἰροῦμαι. νικῶν δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοί-  
 σειν.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

Ὄταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνωνται περὶ 1  
 ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρή-  
 νην, αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ  
 φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν μὲν  
 5 ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦν-  
 τας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν  
 τῶν δεόντων οὐδ' ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον·  
 ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἤδη προηγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ 2  
 πράγματα τῇ πόλει, ὥσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ  
 10 φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπι-  
 βουλεύοντα, τοσούτῳ τὸ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμβουλευ-  
 σαι χαλεπώτερον. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι πάντες, ὦ 3  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ  
 15 κωλύειν καὶ πράξεσιν, οὐχὶ λόγοις δέον, πρῶτον  
 μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφέσταμεν, καὶ  
 γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν  
 ὀκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δέ, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπά, ταῦτα  
 διεξερχόμεθα· ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν  
 20 εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε,  
 ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεσκεύασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ'  
 ἂν ἐκεῖνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἔστι νῦν, παντελῶς

- 4 ἀργῶς ἔχετε. ἵσυμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον,  
 οἶμαι, καὶ ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἐκάτεροι διατρίβετε  
 καὶ περὶ ἃ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἐκατέροις  
 ἔχειν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιοτέρα ὑμῖν ἔξαρκεῖ, 5  
 ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσσεστι τῷ πράγματι·  
 5 εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκο-  
 πεῖν, καὶ μὴ προελθόντα ἔτι πορρωτέρω λήσει  
 πάντας ἡμᾶς, μηδ' ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως  
 πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι δυνησόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς 10  
 τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βουλευέσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν  
 τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα τῶν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν  
 ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.
- 6 Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρρεῖ 15  
 ὁρῶν ἡλικὸς ἤδη καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος,  
 καὶ μηδένα οἶεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει  
 μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω,  
 καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς  
 λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ βραχέων, δι' οὓς τὰ 20  
 ναντία ἐμοὶ παρέστηκεν προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχ-  
 θρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἵν' ἔαν μὲν ἐγὼ δόκῳ  
 βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῇτε, ἔαν δ' οἱ θαρ-  
 ροῦντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ, τούτοις προσθή-
- 7 σεσθε. ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι· 25  
 τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην  
 κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων.  
 τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἃ ἑθιβαίοις συμ-  
 φέρει καὶ οὐχ ἃ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί

δὴ ποτε ; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ'  
 ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων,  
 καὶ οὐ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον  
 οὐδέν, εἶδε τοῦτο ὁρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρα πόλει  
 5 καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο  
 τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ ποιήσκειν, ὑψ' οὐ πεισθέντες ὑμῖς  
 τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινας Ἑλλήνων  
 ἐκείνῳ προεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιού-  
 μενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀσυχίαν τῷ πράγματι  
 10 φεύγοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει προορώμενοι,  
 ὁμοίως ἐναντιώσεσθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῇ  
 πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰς πολέμοιιντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς  
 δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγείτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς  
 γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ εἶσεν ὅπως βούλεται πράτ-  
 15 τειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακω-  
 λύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ.  
 καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ταῦτά  
 ὑπειληφὼς εὖ ἐποίει. ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ'  
 ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· κέκρισθε γάρ  
 20 ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδεὶός ἂν  
 κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι,  
 μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ' ὠφε-  
 λείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὖνοίαν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκό-  
 τως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπείληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων  
 25 καὶ Θηβαίων (ὡς ἐτέρως) οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα  
 ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. εὐρί-  
 σκει γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους  
 προγόνους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων  
 ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνα-



- σχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἥνικ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κῆρυξ, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν  
 ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας  
 ταῦθ' ἃ πάντες ἀεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς  
 εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καὶ γὰρ παραλείψω δικαίως  
 (ἔστι γὰρ μείζονα τὰ κείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις  
 ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους  
 τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ'  
 12 οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδίᾳ τὸ 10  
 λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι σκεψομένους. ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς  
 ἔλοιτο φίλους, ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἰρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ'  
 ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς ἔξειν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλε-  
 ονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ 15  
 νῦν αἰρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὀρᾷ πλείους  
 αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὔσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν'  
 ἀρχὴν εὗρηκε, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπο-  
 ρίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ  
 τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν. 20
- 13 Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἴποι τις ἂν ὥς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδώς,  
 οὐ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε  
 ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρα τοὺς Θηβαίους  
 ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν  
 λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστ' αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην 25  
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφιέναι κελεύων πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενὸν  
 καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδοὺς τῷ δίκαια  
 νομίζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκῆψαιτο ;
- 14 Ἀλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσθ' ὑπόλοι-



πον) καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ  
 τῶν Θηβαίων ὀπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς, συνεχώ-  
 ρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασὶ μὲν μέλλειν  
 πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ λο-  
 5 γοποιοῦσι περιούντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ· ὁ 15  
 δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω,  
 τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει καὶ δύ-  
 10 ναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐστὶ προσδόκιμος. τοὺς  
 μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ,  
 οὓς δ' ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν σώζει;  
 καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' 16  
 ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὐτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς  
 15 ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὐτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίγνωσκε Θηβαίους,  
 τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ'  
 ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, καὶ κείνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δηλὸς  
 ἐστὶ ποιήσας. ἐκ πάντων δ', ἂν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ,  
 πάντα πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συντάττων.  
 20 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν' αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ 17  
 συμβαίνει. λογίσεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται, τού-  
 του δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέιληφεν ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ  
 πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύνοιδεν  
 ἑαυτῷ· οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα  
 25 τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ  
 Ποτίδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι μένειν βεβαίως  
 ἡγείτο. ἀμφοτέρω οὖν οἶδε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπι- 18  
 βουλευόντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν  
 δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν

- νομίζοι, καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἔαν μὴ φθάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει τινάς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτ' αἰχμαλώτους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν 5 πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγαπήσειν οἴεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν προούψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσιν γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' 10 ἴσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔστιν εἰρησθαι.
- 20 “ Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθ' ;” ἔφην, “ ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσσηνῖοι, “ δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ “ Φιλίππου, κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθε- “ μούντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀφίει, ἧς πάντες οἱ πρότερον 15 “ Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο, Ποτίδαιαν δ' “ ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβάλλων, καὶ “ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνήρητο, “ τὴν χώραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι ; ἄρα “ προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος 20
- 21 “ ἂν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε ; ἀλλ' ὅμως,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “ μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπωσάμενοι “ πολὺν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσchrῶς “ ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προ- “ δοθέντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ 25 “ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους
- 22 “ αὐταὶ λίαν ὁμιλῖαι. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί ; ἂρ' “ οἴεσθ' ;” ἔφην, “ ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέ- “ βαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου,

“ προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν νῦν δεσπορχίαν  
 “ ἔσεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς ; ἢ τὸν τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀπο-  
 “ δόντα, τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραι-  
 “ ρήσεσθαι ; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγοιτε  
 5 “ ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι. ὑμεῖς δ’,” ἔφην 23  
 ἐγώ, “ διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑποσχερόμενον θεωρεῖτε  
 “ Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ’ ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρου-  
 “ μένον ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δή, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι  
 “ τοίνυν νῆ Δί’,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “ παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα  
 10 “ ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον  
 “ χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα  
 “ τοιαῦτα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα χειροποίη- 24  
 “ τα, καὶ δαπάνης προσδεῖται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ  
 “ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐν ἑαυτῇ κέκτηται φυ-  
 15 “ λακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτή-  
 “ ριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράν-  
 “ νους. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο ; ἀπιστία. ταύτην  
 “ φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε· ἐὰν ταύτην σώ-  
 “ ζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε ;” 25  
 20 ἔφην. “ ἐλευθερίαν. εἰτ’ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε Φίλιππον  
 “ ἀλλοτριωτάτας ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχον-  
 “ τα ; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἅπας ἐχθρὸς  
 “ ἐλευθερία καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ’  
 “ ὅπως,” ἔφην, “ μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῇ-  
 25 “ ναι δεσπότην εὖρητε ;”

Ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς 26  
 ὀρθῶς λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους λόγους παρὰ  
 τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον  
 ἀκούσαντες, ὡς εἴκειν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχήσονται

- τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὦν ἐπαγγέλλεται. καὶ οὐ  
 τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Πελοποννη-  
 σίων τινὲς παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ' ὀρώσιν τι  
 27 πράξουσιν· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ  
 τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν ὥς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὥς 5  
 περιτειχίζεσθε, ὥστε μηδὲν ἤδη ποιῆσαι λήσεθ', ὥς  
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάντα ὑπομείναντες· οὕτως ἢ παραυτίχ'  
 ἡδονὴ καὶ ῥαστώνη μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον  
 συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.
- 28 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῶν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐ- 10  
 τοὺς ὕστερον βουλεύσεσθε, ἂν σωφρονῇτε· ἃ δὲ  
 νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ δέοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι,  
 ταῦτα δὴ λέξω. ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπεί-  
 29 σθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ 15  
 αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς  
 οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν  
 τυχόντα εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ᾤεσθε· ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ  
 τούτων ἀφεστηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν  
 γ' ἐτέρους καλεῖν· τίνας; τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυίας 20  
 ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἡκων πρεσβείας  
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακίζομένην τὴν  
 πόλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἶων  
 30 προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὥς ἐγὼ μὲν  
 ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστροπος καὶ δυσκολός εἰμί 25  
 τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ὅπερ εὐξαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς,  
 εἰαν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θησπιάς μὲν καὶ Πλα-  
 ταιὰς τειχεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως, Χερ-  
 ρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν δὲ

καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῶν ἀποδώσει·  
ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐνταῦθα μνημο-  
νεύετ' οἷδ' ὅτι ῥηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς  
ἀδικοῦντας μεμνήσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον, 31  
5 καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην  
εἶναι ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε.  
τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημι δεῖν τούτους;  
ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τάληθῇ μετὰ παρρησίας ἐρῶ  
πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. οὐχ ἵν' εἰς λαιδο- 32  
10 ρίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρ' ὑμῶν  
ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς και-  
νὴν παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ  
Φιλίππου· οὐδ' ἵνα ὡς ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ. ἀλλ' οἶμαι  
ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσειν ἂ Φίλιππος πράττει μᾶλλον ἢ  
15 τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὁρῶ προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ 33  
βουλοίμην ἂν εἰκάζειν ὀρθῶς, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν  
ἐγγὺς ᾗ τοῦτ' ᾗδῃ. ὅταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑμῶν ἀμελεῖν  
ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μηδ' ἀκούηθ'  
ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεινός, ἀλλ'  
20 αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁρᾶτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ  
τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι νομίζω. φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ 34  
τῶν πρέσβεων σεσιωπηκότων, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοῖς συν-  
ίσασιν δεδωροδοκηκόσι, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι πειρω-  
μένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν  
25 ὀργῇ περιπεσεῖν συμβῇ· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ  
ἐνίους οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα  
μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας. ἕως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει 35  
καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακούομεν  
ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα,



ὅμως ἐπαναμιμνήσκεσθαι βούλομαι, τίς ὁ Φωκέας  
 πείσας καὶ Πύλας ποιήσας προέσθαι, ὃν καταστὰς  
 ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς  
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποίηχ' ὑμῖν  
 μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων 5  
 εἶναι τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ  
 τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπήσει μὲν  
 ἕκαστον, ἐπειδὰν παρῇ, γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ  
 36 ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε τόθ' ὑμεῖς,  
 οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα. οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ 10  
 δῆπου κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε  
 στολῶ Φίλιππος, οὔτε πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύ-  
 λας καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δίκαι' ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν  
 εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν  
 ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμη- 15  
 37 σεν. ταῦτ' οὖν ὥς μὲν ὑπομνήσαι, νῦν ἱκανῶς  
 εἴρηται, ὥς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθεῖη μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, μὴ  
 γένοιτο, ὧ πάντες θεοί. οὐδένα γὰρ βουλοίμην  
 ἔγωγε ἂν, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι, μετὰ  
 τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑπο-  
 σχεῖν.



# ΙΧ.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

Πολλῶν, ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων 1  
 ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ᾧ Φίλιπ-  
 πος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων οἶδ' ὅτι  
 5 φησάντων γ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιῶσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν  
 δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς ὕβρεως  
 καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ  
 πράγματα καὶ προειμένα ὀρώ, ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ  
 βλάσφημον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' ἦ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν  
 10 ἅπαντες ἐβούλοντο οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν  
 ὑμεῖς ἐξ ᾧ ὡς φαυλότατ' ἔμελλε τὰ πράγμαθ' ἔξειν.  
 οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατεθῆναι.  
 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἷτια τούτων, καὶ οὐ παρ' 2  
 ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα ἀφίκται, μάλι-  
 15 στα δ', ἂν περ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, εὐρήσετε διὰ τοὺς  
 χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρου-  
 μένους, ᾧ τινὲς μὲν, ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐ-  
 δοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῦτα φυλάττοντες  
 οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν,  
 20 ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι  
 καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶσιν ἢ ὅπως ἡ  
 πόλις παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσ-

ται, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὃ  
 3 τι βούλεται. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μὲν  
 εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἷται δὲ τῶν κακῶν. ἀξιῶ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴαν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας  
 λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γε- 5  
 νέσθαι. σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὡδί. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν  
 ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι  
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς  
 δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν τις  
 οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ἡμῖν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ὃ τι 10  
 βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων  
 πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν παντάπασιν ἐξελη-  
 4 λάκατε. εἰθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν  
 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα  
 πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ 15  
 τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν.  
 εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω·  
 εἰ δ' ἂν συμφέρει χωρὶς κολακείας ἐβελήσετε ἀκού-  
 ειν, ἕτοιμος λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως τὰ  
 πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προεῖται, ὅμως ἔστιν, εἴαν 20  
 ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθ', ἔτι πάντα ταῦτα  
 5 ἐπανορθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν  
 ὃ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ· τὸ χεῖριστον ἐν τοῖς  
 παρεληλυθόσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον  
 ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε 25  
 μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ  
 πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἂν προσῆκε πρατ-  
 τόντων οὕτω διέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέ-  
 σθαι βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμε-

τέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν· οὐδ' ἤττησθε ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ᾗς ἐστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ 8  
 5 ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστι τοῦτο, ἢ ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι, φημί  
 ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα γρά-  
 φειν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξιώ· εἰ δ' ἕτε-  
 ρος τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλήν  
 10 βάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρή-  
 ται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν δὲ  
 εἰρήνην ἄγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐ δια-  
 φέρομαι. εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, 9  
 ἐξ ἧς ἐκεῖνος πάντα τὰλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥξει,  
 15 πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ  
 ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν  
 ὃ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππος  
 ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ  
 πολεμεῖσθαι.

20 Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἕως ἂν 10  
 ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέστα-  
 τοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζῃ  
 καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἴ περ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ 11  
 25 Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια  
 εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ  
 μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον  
 χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγα-  
 νακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς ἀπολογησομέ-

- νους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους  
 ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν οἱ παρηκο-  
 λούθουν αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον  
 οἱ πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου  
 12 πάροδον. καὶ μὴν καὶ Φεράς πρῶην ὡς φίλος καὶ ἅ  
 σύμμαχος εἰς Θητταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβών,  
 καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς τάλαιπώροις Ὠρεΐταις του-  
 τοισὶ ἐπισκεψομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομ-  
 φέναι κατ' εὐνοίαν· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς  
 νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν, συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ 14  
 φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρεῖναι.  
 13 εἰτ' οἷεσθ' αὐτόν, οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν,  
 μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξα-  
 πατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι,  
 ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προρρήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕως 15  
 14 ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε ; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν  
 ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ'  
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινες αἰτιωμένων, ἐκείνος ἐκλύσας τὴν  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν 20  
 προείποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφο-  
 ρούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιτο, οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν  
 ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκείνός γε οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.  
 15 Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ᾧ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν  
 ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν 25  
 ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἄν ;  
 οὐδεὶς δῆπου. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι  
 τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὐπω Διοπίθους στρατη-  
 γοῦντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Λερρονήσῳ νῦν ἀπε-

σταλμένων, Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον ἐλάμβανε καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐκ Σερρίου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας  
 ἐξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς κατέστησεν.  
 καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίει ; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ  
 5 ὁμωμόκει. καὶ μηδεὶς εἶπη, τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἢ τί 16  
 τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτα ἢ  
 μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἶη λόγος  
 οὗτος· τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μικ-  
 ροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβαίῃη, τὴν αὐτὴν  
 10 ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἡνίκ' εἰς Χερρόνησον,  
 ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν ἐγνώ-  
 κασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ  
 καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ ; φῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐ 17  
 πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα  
 15 ἐκεῖνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην,  
 ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραν-  
 νίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παριόντα  
 καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ',  
 ὅσα πράττει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιοῦντα λύειν  
 20 φημί τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς  
 τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε,  
 ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤδη προσάγωσιν. ἀλλ'  
 οὐ φήσετε· ὁ γάρ, οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθείην, ταῦτα  
 πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολε-  
 25 μεῖ, κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς 18  
 κινδυνεύσαιτ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο ; τῷ τὸν Ἕλλή-  
 σποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς  
 Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ  
 Πελοποννησίους τάκείνου φρονῆσαι. εἶτα τὸν

- τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἱστάντα, τοῦτον  
 19 εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ; πολλοῦ γε καὶ  
 δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης  
 ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δέ, ἐὰν ἀμύ-  
 νησθε ἤδη, σωφρονήσειν φημί, ἐὰν δὲ ἐάσητε, οὐδὲ 5  
 τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. καὶ  
 τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἄλλων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευόντων, ὥστε οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι  
 περὶ Χερρονήσου νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου,  
 20 ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι μὲν τούτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μή τι 10  
 πάθωσι, βουλευέσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων.  
 βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν' εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς λογί-  
 ζομαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' 15  
 ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε,  
 ποιήσησθε, ἂν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ,  
 μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖτις ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.  
 21 Ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ  
 κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ἡϋξῆται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ 20  
 στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ  
 ὅτι πολλῶ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ  
 ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προείληφε,  
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα  
 22 τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελθεῖν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ' 25  
 ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ'  
 ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα  
 χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί.  
 τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο ; τὸ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται, καὶ



καθ' ἓνα οὕτωςι περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα.  
 καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ 23  
 τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριά-  
 5 κοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἴσχυσαν δέ τι  
 καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους  
 μετὰ τὴν ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ'  
 ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώ-  
 ποτε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ  
 10 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ  
 δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότε οὔσιν 24  
 Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσ-  
 φέρεσθαι, πάντες ὥντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν  
 ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἡδίκημένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ  
 15 πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρξασι καὶ παρελθούσιν εἰς  
 τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχεί-  
 ρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκί-  
 νουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν  
 ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέ- 25  
 20 γειν ; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἂν  
 εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅ τι ἡδικούμεθ' ὑπ' ἀλλή-  
 λων, ὅμως ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους  
 ἐωρῶμεν, πολεμεῖν ὥόμεθα δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα  
 ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ'  
 25 ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις ἐν τοῖς  
 ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττονά ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν οἷς  
 ἐπιπολάζει ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ  
 πέμπτον μέρος τούτων ἐκείνα. Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ 26

καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριά-  
 κοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἑῷ, ἃς ἀπάσας οὕτως  
 ὠμίῳς ἀνήρηκεν, ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ' ὠκλήθησαν  
 προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκέων  
 ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνηρημένον σιωπῶ. ἀλλὰ Θετ- 5  
 ταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις  
 αὐτῶν παρήρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα  
 μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύ-  
 27 ωσιν; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις οὐκ ἤδη τυραννοῦν-  
 ται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν καὶ 16  
 Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφει,  
 “ἐμοὶ δ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βου-  
 λομένους”; καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ'  
 ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἶχεται,  
 πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἴλιον ἔχει τηλικαύ- 15  
 την πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάρους ἐπεβούλευσε  
 πρῶην, οὗθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὗθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεο-  
 28 νεξίαν χωρεῖ τὰνθρώπου. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ πέμπομεν  
 πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακ- 20  
 τοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διορωρύγ-  
 μεθα κατὰ πόλεις, ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας  
 οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν δεόντων πρᾶ-  
 ξαι δυνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστήναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν  
 29 βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας οὐδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ 21  
 μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορῶμεν, τὸν  
 χρόνον κερδᾶναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται  
 ἕκαστος ἐγνωκώς, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως  
 σωθήσεται τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πρᾶτ-

των, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὥσπερ περίοδος ἡ καταβολὴ  
 πυρετοῦ ἢ τινος ἄλλου κακοῦ καὶ τῷ πάνυ πόρρω  
 δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἀγ-  
 νοεῖ. καὶ μὴν κακείνῳ γε ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ 30  
 5 Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες,  
 ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γε ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡδι-  
 κοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ',  
 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγωνὼς γνήσιος  
 διώκει τι μὴ καλῶς μηδ' ὀρθῶς, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν  
 10 τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμφεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς δ' οὐ  
 προσήκων ἢ ὡς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ὦν ταῦτα  
 ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑπο- 31  
 βολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαί-  
 νετο, Ἡράκλεις, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς  
 15 ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφησαν εἶναι! ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ  
 Φιλίππου καὶ ὦν ἐκείνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως  
 ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσή-  
 κοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου  
 ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδό-  
 20 νος, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἤν  
 πρότερον.

Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ 32  
 πρὸς τῷ πόλεις ἀνηρηκέσαι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια,  
 τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ  
 25 παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας πέμπει;  
 γράφει δὲ Θητταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι; 33  
 πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμιον  
 ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἑρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὠρεόν,  
 τύραννον Φιλιστίδην κατὰστήσοντας: ἀλλ' ὅμως

- ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεω-  
 ρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι,  
 34 κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς  
 ἢ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, 5  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο  
 γὰρ ἤδη τοῦσχατόν ἐστιν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ'  
 Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν  
 Ναύπακτον ὁμόμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδώσειν; οὐχὶ  
 Θηβαίων Ἐχῖνον ἀφήρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαν- 10  
 35 τίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ ὑμῶν, ἐὼ  
 τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρονήσου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν  
 Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλο-  
 μεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον  
 βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας 15  
 ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω  
 χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν ἐκάσ-  
 του κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσῃ;
- 36 Τί οὖν αἷτιον τουτωνί; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ  
 δικαίας αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοίμως πρὸς 20  
 ἐλευθερίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν.  
 ἦν τι τότ', ἦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολ-  
 λῶν διανοίαις, ὃ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν  
 ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἦτ- 25  
 τᾶτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω
- 37 καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε πάντα τὰ πράγματα. τί οὖν ἦν  
 τοῦτο; τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων ἢ δια-  
 φθείρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαν-

38 τες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα  
 ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρία μεγίστη τοῦτον ἐκό-  
 λαζον. τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, 39  
 5 ὃν ἡ τύχη πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρία-  
 σθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων,  
 οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς  
 τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ'  
 ὅλως τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. νῦν δ' ἅπανθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγο- 39  
 ρᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆκται δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων,  
 10 ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. ταῦτα δ'  
 ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέ τι· γέλως, ἂν ὁμο-  
 λογῇ· μῖσος, ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμῇ· τᾶλλα πάνθ'  
 ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρτηται. ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε 40  
 καὶ σωμαίων πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 15 κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τᾶλλα οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν  
 τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἅπασι καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω  
 ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῶ. ἀλλ' ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἄχρηστα,  
 ἄπρακτα, ἀνόνητα, ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων γίγνεται.

Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁράτε δήπου 41  
 20 καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς  
 ἄνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι τὰναντία εἶχει, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ  
 λόγους ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγό-  
 νων τῶν ὑμετέρων, ἃ ἑκεῖνοι κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην  
 χαλκῇν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. “Ἀρθμιος,” 42  
 25 φησὶν, “ὁ Πυθῶνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἄτιμος καὶ πολέ-  
 μιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων,  
 αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.” εἴθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν  
 ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· “ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς  
 Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν.” ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα.



- 43 λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς ἦν ποθ' ἡ διάνοια τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξι-  
 ωμα. ἐκεῖνοι Ζελεΐτην τινὰ Ἀρθμιον δοῦλον βασι-  
 λέως (ἡ γὰρ Ζελεΐα ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ  
 δεσπότη διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννη- 5  
 σον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ  
 44 τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους. τοῦ-  
 το δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἢ ἄν τις οὕτωςι φήσκειεν ἀτιμίαν·  
 τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελεΐτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ  
 μεθέξειν ἔμελλεν; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται 10  
 νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῶ δίκας φόνου δικάσα-  
 σθαι, “καὶ ἄτιμος,” φησί, “τεθνάτω.” τοῦτο δὴ  
 λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι.  
 45 οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐ- 15  
 τοῖς ἔμελεν, εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται  
 καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλα-  
 ζον δ' οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦντο οὓς αἰσθίνοντο, ὥστε  
 καὶ στηλῖτας ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ ὁ βάρβα- 20  
 46 ρος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως  
 ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς τᾶλλα,  
 ἀλλὰ πῶς; εἶπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργισθεῖτε;  
 47 Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παρα-  
 μυθεῖσθαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, (ὥς ἄρα) οὕτω 25  
 Φίλιππός ἐστιν οἰοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θα-  
 λάττης μὲν ἦρχον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ σύμ-  
 μαχον εἶχον, ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὁμως  
 ἡμύνατο κακείνους ἢ πόλις καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη.



ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπῶν πολλὴν εἰληφύοτων  
 ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρό-  
 τερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου  
 κεκινήσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ 18  
 5 ἀκούω Λακεδαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους  
 τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε, τὴν ὠραίαν αὐτήν, ἐμβα-  
 λόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ὀπλίταις καὶ  
 πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πά-  
 λιν· οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς,  
 10 ὥστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδάν,  
 ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ τὸν πόλεμον.  
 νυνὶ δ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλείστα τοὺς προδότας 49  
 ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης  
 γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα  
 15 ὀπλιτῶν ἄγειν βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ  
 ψιλοῦς, ἱππέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτῇ  
 σθαι στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς 50  
 νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπέσῃ καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίῃ, μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας  
 20 πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐ-  
 δὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις, ἣν  
 διαλείπει. ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδότας καὶ λογι- 51  
 ζομένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν  
 χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς  
 25 Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτραχηλισθῆ-  
 ναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγ-  
 μασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν μὴ  
 κινήσεται σκοποῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγω-  
 νίζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει 52

πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ, ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἃ δεῖ, ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἧς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἥσκηται.

5

53 Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσητε ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκεί-  
54 νοις. ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ δυνήσεσθε ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μή τι  
15 δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λαιδορίας, φθόνου, σκώμματος, ἧς τινος ἂν τύχητε ἔνεκ' αἰτίας, ἀνθρώπους μισθωτούς, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε, καὶ γελάτε,  
55 ἂν τισι λαιδορηθῶσιν. καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν, 20 καίπερ ὃν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκρο-  
ᾶσθαι. λέξω δ' ἔργα ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.

25

56 Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ οἱ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράττοντες. πότεροι δὲ τὴν πατρίδα ἐξ-

ώλεσαν ; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππέας προὔδοσαν, ὧν  
 προδοθέντων Ὀλυνθος ἀπώλετο ; οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου  
 φρονοῦντες καὶ ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα  
 λέγοντας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὕτως,  
 5 ὥστε τὸν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ  
 τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπείσθη.

Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνον τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο 57  
 πάντα κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ · ἀλλ'  
 ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ  
 10 τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν,  
 οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιπ-  
 πον. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ  
 ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶντες  
 ἐπείσθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβαλεῖν.  
 15 καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς 58  
 Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τεῖχη περιεῖλε τοῦ  
 Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους, Ἰππαρ-  
 χον, Λύτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον · καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ'  
 ἐξεληλάκεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἤδη βουλομένους  
 20 σῶζεσθαι.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν ; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὠρεῶ Φιλι- 59  
 στίδης μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος καὶ  
 Σωκράτης καὶ Θόας καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν  
 ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδεσαν ἅπαντες),  
 25 Εὐφραῖος δέ τις, ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ' ἐν-  
 θάδε οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι  
 ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προ- 60  
 επηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λέγειν ·  
 ἐνιαντῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προ-

- δότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθό-  
 μενος ἅ πράττουσιν. συστραφέντες δὲ ἄνθρωποι  
 πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον καὶ πρυτα-  
 νενόμενοι, ἀπάγουσι τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτή-  
 61 ριον ὥς συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' 5  
 ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν,  
 τοὺς δ' ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν  
 δ' ἐπιτήδειον ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέχαιρεν.  
 μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὁπόσης ἡβούλονται  
 ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευ- 10  
 ᾶζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἰσθοίτο,  
 ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον, οἷα ἔπα-  
 θε, μεμνημένοι. οὕτω δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο, ὥστε  
 οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεὶς τοιούτου κακοῦ  
 προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνήν, πρὶν διασκευασάμενοι 15  
 πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσήεσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· τηνικαῦτα  
 62 δ' οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὔδιδον. τῆς δὲ  
 πόλεως οὕτως ἀλούσης αἰσχυρῶς καὶ κακῶς οἱ μὲν  
 ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραινοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σώζοντας αὐ-  
 τοὺς καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον ἐτοιμούς· ὅτι οὖν ποιεῖν ὄντας 20  
 τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ'  
 Εὐφραῖος ἐκεῖνος ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ μαρτυ-  
 ρήσας ὅτι καὶ δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολι-  
 τῶν ἀνθιστήκει Φιλίππῳ.
- 63 Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, τὸ καὶ τοὺς 25  
 Ὀλυνθίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ὀρεΐτας  
 ἡδὶον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ  
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ; ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς  
 μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομέ-

νους ἔνεστιν ἐνίοτε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν εἰπῶν · τὰ γὰρ  
 πράγματ' ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται · οἱ δ'  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν.  
 εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῦν ἔφασαν · πολε- 64  
 5 μῶν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἕως  
 ἐγκατελήφθησαν. τᾶλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι  
 πάνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγω · οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' οἷς  
 χαριοῦνται, ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, οἱ δ', ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον σω-  
 θήσεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ οὕτως  
 10 οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προσί-  
 ειντο, ἀλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅλοις  
 ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνόμιζον. ὁ νῦν τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω 65  
 δέδοικα ἐγὼ μὴ πάθητε ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὰν εἰδῆτε ἐκ-  
 λογιζόμενοι μηδὲν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐνόν. καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο  
 15 μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματ' ἐν τούτῳ ·  
 τεθνάναι δὲ μυριάκις κρεῖττον ἢ κολακεία τι ποιῆ-  
 σαι Φιλίππου. καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφα 66  
 σιν Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις  
 ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτούς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν · καλήν  
 20 γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους  
 πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν ·  
 δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ σφαττόμενοι.  
 καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθέην  
 ἵππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδην  
 25 ἐκβαλόντων. μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, 67  
 καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει  
 ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 λεγόντων ἀκροωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν  
 οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν ἢ δεινὸν



- 68 πείσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν κακεῖνό γε αἰσχρόν, ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν, “ τίς γὰρ ἂν ᾤηθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι ; νῆ τὸν Δία, ἔδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.” πολλὰ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι νῦν, ἂ τότ' εἰ προείδοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλουντο· πόλλ' ἂν 5 ὦρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκείς, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων
- 69 ἕκαστοι. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς ; ἕως ἂν σώζεται τὸ σκάφος, ἂν τε μεῖζον ἂν τ' ἔλαττον ᾗ, τότε χρὴ καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μήθ' ἐκὼν μήτ' 10 ἄκων μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι· ἐπειδὰν
- 70 δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχη, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕως ἐσμέν σώοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν ; πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως 15 ἐρωτήσων κάθηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δί' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστε ἂν βούλησθε χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω· (καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δῆπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, 20
- 71 ἡμῶν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον·) ταῦτα δὴ πάντα αὐτοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες φανερά τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις, ἵν' εἰ μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν 25 ἀναλωμάτων, ἂν τι δέῃ, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνους γε ἐμποι-
- 72 ῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστῶσης πόλεως ἰσχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρυσιν πρεσβεῖαι



περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκεῖναι καὶ κατηγορίαι, ἃς  
 ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκείνοσὶ καὶ Ἰγή-  
 σιππος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ  
 ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνων καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρα-  
 5 κίαν ἐλθεῖν μήτ' ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὀρμῆσαι. οὐ 73  
 μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον  
 ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ  
 εὖηθες τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτοὺς προεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων  
 φάσκειν κήδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας  
 10 ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω  
 ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ χρήματ' ἀπο-  
 στέλλειν φημι δεῖν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἀξιούσι ποιεῖν,  
 αὐτοὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἑλλη-  
 νας συγκαλεῖν, συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νουθετεῖν· ταῦτ'  
 15 ἐστὶ πόλεως ἀξίωμα ἐχούσης ἡλίκον ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει.  
 εἰ δ' οἴεσθε Χαλκιδέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ 74  
 Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα,  
 οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε· ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, ἂν αὐτοὶ σώ-  
 ζωνται τούτων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακ-  
 20 τέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο  
 καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων.  
 εἰ δ' ὁ βούλεται ζητῶν ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ 75  
 ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσῃ σκοπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν  
 οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὖρη τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοικα  
 25 ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἅμα, ὅσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν  
 ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἷ- 76  
 ομαι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα  
 τούτων γιγνομένων· εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τούτων βέλτιον,

λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω. ὅ τι δ' ὑμῖν δόξει,  
τοῦτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκοι.

## NOTES.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

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I. — Introduction.

H. — Hadley and Allen's Greek Grammar.

G. — Goodwin's Greek Grammar (Revised Edition).

M. — Goodwin's Greek Moods and Tenses (1890).

L. & S. — Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon (Seventh Edition).

IV, VI, IX. — Philippias A, B, Γ.

# NOTES.

## IV.

### ANALYSIS.

PART I. — PREPARATORY WARNINGS AND ENCOURAGEMENTS, §§ 1-12.

PART II. — PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS, §§ 13-30.

PART III. — SUPPLEMENTARY ARGUMENTS AND APPEALS, §§ 31-51.

I. — *a.* Exordium: The orator apologizes for taking precedence of older speakers, § 1.

*b.* The situation of Athens, though disgraceful, is not hopeless, § 2.

*c.* The heroic achievements of the city in the past are an encouragement for the future; while, on the other hand, Philip has shown himself an enemy too dangerous to be neglected, § 3.

*d.* Philip was not daunted at the outset of his career by his inferiority in strength to Athens. Athens, by imitating his example, will meet with a success like his, §§ 4-8.

*e.* But the consequences of continued neglect will be fatal, §§ 9-12.

II. — *a.* Prothesis: Statement of subjects to be discussed, and request for a deliberate hearing, §§ 13-15.

*b.* Such preparations ought to be made that, when necessity arises, a sudden expedition may be made against Philip, §§ 16-18.

*c.* Above all, a small, *permanent* force ought to be organized, — one-fourth to be Athenians, three-fourths mercenaries, §§ 19-22.

*d.* Justification of the smallness of the force, and of its composition, §§ 23-27.

*e.* Estimate of expenses, and statement of ways and means, §§ 28-30.

III. — *a.* Geographical considerations which reinforce the demand for a permanent force to hover near the Macedonian coast, §§ 31-32.

*b.* The good results which will flow from the adoption of the measures recommended, §§ 33-34.

*c.* The folly of waiting till the hour of need before making military preparations, §§ 35-41.

*d.* Philip's restless activity is a sign of divine favor toward the Athenians, § 42.

*e.* Who are again conjured to participate personally in military affairs, §§ 43-46.

*f.* Only so can justice be done to the generals, and the habit of idle gossip be put down, §§ 47-50.

*g.* Peroration: The orator has spoken plainly, in the hope of doing good, § 51.

1. — For the technical terms used in this section, see I. § 60. — **Et . . . λέγειν**, *If, men of Athens, some new matter were the subject of debate*. εἰ προϋτίθετο implies οὐ προτίθεται. The action of the presiding officer denoted by προτιθέναι is here thought of as continuing during the discussion. If it had been thought of as consisting merely in the announcement of the subject, εἰ προϋτέθη would have been used. With the conception here adopted, cf. Isok. viii, 15: παρελήλυθα ἀποφανόμενος ἃ τυγχάνω γινώσκων περὶ ὧν οἱ πρυτάνεις προτιθέασιν. — **ἐπισχῶν**, *having waited*. The following ἄν is repeated with ἦγον and ἐπειρώμην. II. 864; G. 1312 (not II. 987; G. 1308). — **τῶν ἐλωθότων**: se. γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι. — **ἀπεφάναντο**. II. 915; G. 1465; cf. the construction in final clauses, II. 884. — **ὑπὲρ ὧν** = ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν, and ὑπὲρ = περὶ. II. 807 c; G. 1218 (c). — **πολλάκις πρότερον**. The assembly had had to take measures in regard to Philip repeatedly. I. 15-18, 21-23. — **καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς**, *though I have risen first*. For καὶ, see II. 979; G. 1573. — **ἐκ . . . χρόνου**. See below, § 2. — **ἄν ἔδει**. The expression ἔδει ἄν (χρῆν ἄν) εἶναι implies οὐ δεῖ (χρῆ) εἶναι, while ἔδει (χρῆν) εἶναι generally implies οὐκ ἔστιν, but is sometimes used in the sense of ἔδει ἄν (χρῆν ἄν) εἶναι. II. 897 and a; G. 1400-1401. — The foregoing exordium is modelled freely upon that of Isokrates's Archidamus. Thus not unfrequently the Greek orators borrowed from one another or from earlier orations of their own. D.'s apology for opening the debate may imply that some lingering respect was still paid to the ancient rule, attributed to Solon, according to which citizens over fifty years of age had precedence in the Ekklēsia over their juniors.

2. — **οὖν**: here, as often, not inferential but transitional. Translate by *then* or *now*. — **δοκεῖ**: se. τὰ παρόντα πράγματα. — **ὁ . . . γενέσθαι**. Nearly the same words recur in IX, 5. The meaning of ἐκ . . . χρόνου appears from the phrase ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι there substituted. See L. & S. ἐκ II, 3, and cf. the Latin expressions, *de nocte*, *by night*, *de die*, *by day*, etc. — **τί οὖν . . . γενέσθαι**. *What then is this?* It is the fact that affairs are in a wretched plight on account of your doing no part of your duty, since certainly, if they were so in spite of your doing everything which you ought, there would not be even a hope of their being improved. That is to say: the most disgraceful thing in our recent history is that we have suffered great losses through our own apathy and neglect; but in this very fact there is encouragement for the future, for if inaction has ruined, energy may repair our fortunes. ποιούντων ἡμῶν expresses cause, πραττόντων, concession. With ἃ προσῆκε understand πράττειν. The tense of



προσῆκε may be explained by II. 831, G. 1400, but better, in this instance, by the principle of attraction. Cf. G. 1440; M. 559. γενέσθαι depends upon ἐλπίς. II. 952; G. 1521. For its tense, see M. 100.

3.—ἐπειτα. After αἶτα or ἐπειτα, following πρῶτον μὲν, δέ is commonly omitted. Cf. §§ 16, 34. — ἐνθυμητόν . . . ἀναμνησκομένοις. The expression here lacks concinnity. If completed as begun, it would read, ἐνθυμητόν (sc. ὑμῶν) καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησκομένοις, where παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι and αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησκομένοις would be parallel expressions, applicable respectively to the younger and older members of the audience. But τοῖς εἰδόσιν is inserted as if there had preceded τοῖς εἰδόσι παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι or simply τοῖς παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι, and ἀναμνησκομένοις becomes a circumstantial participle with εἰδόσιν, making an expression comparable to the οἶδα ἀκούων of § 24. Translate: *In the second place, it ought to be considered, both as you hear it from others, and by those of you who know it from personal recollection.* — ἡλίκην—ὥς. As two or more interrogatives, so two or more relatives, may, in Greek, be combined without a copula in dependent questions and exclamations. Cf. § 36, πότε . . . τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, and II. 1012, 1013. Translate: *how great power the Lacedæmonians once had, and long ago, and yet how noddy, etc.* — ἐξ . . . πολὺς (sc. ἐστι): an adverbial formula, used in the sense of οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ. — τῶν δικαίων, *the right*. — τὸν πόλεμον refers to the Corinthian or Boeotian War, or both. I. 2, 4. — εἰδῆτε καὶ θεάσσηθε. I. 62. — φυλαττομένοις = ἂν φυλάττησθε. — τοιοῦτον . . . βούλοισθε, *such as you would wish, in a satisfactory condition*. The expression is in the same construction as φοβερὸν. — παραδείγμασι: in pred. agreement with τῇ ῥώμῃ and τῇ ὕβρει. II. 777 a. The relations of Athens with Sparta and with Philip illustrate or exemplify the statements just made as universally true. — ἐκ . . . νοῦν, *in consequence of giving heed to affairs*. — τούτου: Philip. — ἐκ . . . ἐχρῆν = ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν τούτων ὧν φροντίζειν ἐχρῆν. μηδὲν is cogn. acc.

4. — τὸ . . . ἀπολωλέναι, *the fact that all the fortified towns* (i.e., those about to be named) *have been lost*. — μέντοι: a more emphatic adversative than δέ. — Πύδναν . . . τούτον. I. 6, 16, 17, 18. — οἰκέων κύκλω. The natural order would be κύκλω οἰκέων, but this would give a hiatus. I. 61. οἰκέων = *as our own, κύκλω = round about*, i.e., around the Thermaic Gulf. — πολλὰ . . . 'κείνῳ: applicable to the Pæonians, Illyrians, and Thessalians. I. 13, 18, 21. — μετ' ἐκείνου, *on his side, ranged with him*. So below, § 8.

5. — εἰ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, *if he had conceived this idea*. εἰ εἶχε would mean, *if he held or if he had held*. — ἐπιταχίσματα . . . χώρας,

*strongholds commanding his country*, referring to Pydna, Potidaea, and Methone. *χώρας* is objective gen. — *ἄν* belongs both to *ἔπραξεν* and to *ἐκτίσατο*. G. 1314; M. 226. — *ῶν*. II. 996 a; G. 1032. — *ταῦτα . . . μέσφ*. Cf. Xen. Anab. 3, 1, 21: *ἐν μέσφ γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλα, ὅπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ὦσιν*. Similarly Arrian, Anab. 5, 26, 7. The metaphor is taken from the ancient custom of giving prizes of intrinsic value for success in the games, and exposing these to view near the contestants. See Hom. Il. 18, 507: *κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δῶν χρυσοῖο τάλαντα*; Virg. *Æn.* 5, 292 ff.

6. — *καὶ γάρ τοι*, *and so*, a common collocation of particles in D., similar to *τοιγάρτοι* in meaning. Cf. IX, 58. — *χρησάμενος*, *having adopted, by adopting*; how different from *χρώμενος*? — *τὰ μὲν — τὰ δέ*: unsymmetrical construction. *τὰ μὲν* is in partitive apposition with *πάντα*, *τὰ δέ* is object of *ποιησάμενος*. — *τὰ δέ*. To this category the Olynthians and Thessalians belonged. I. 17, 20–21. — *ἐθελήσῃτε*. *ἐθελῆσαι* differs from *ἐθέλειν* nearly as *to resolve* from *to wish*. — *γενέσθαι ἐπὶ*, *to take your stand upon*.

7. — *καὶ ἕκαστος . . . στρατεύεσθαι*, *and each one of you, abandoning all evasion, shall become ready to act where he is needed and where he could make himself of service to the city, the man of property to pay taxes, and the man of military age to serve in the army*. *εἰρωνεία* is dissimulation of one's abilities in order to escape onerous duties. On *εἰσφέρειν*, consult Diet. Antiq., EISPHORA, and I. 56. On the military age at Athens, see I. 54. — *συνελόντι ἀπλῶς*, *briefly and simply, in one word* (lit. *for one comprehending the matter in a simple statement*). With *συνελόντι*, *εἰπεῖν* is generally used. II. 771 b; G. 1172, 2. — *ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι*, *to rely upon yourselves*. *ὑμῶν* is pred. gen. of possession. II. 732 a; G. 1094, 1. The same idea is expanded in what follows, *παύσῃσθε . . . πράξειν*. — *οὐδέν*. An infinitive dependent upon *ἐλπίζω* is commonly negatived by *μή*, but sometimes by *οὐ*. In this sentence the mood of *παύσῃσθε* might at first be thought to require the use of *μηδέν* (II. 1027; G. 1610), but *οὐδέν* is admissible, because the hope here referred to is one actually existing. — *καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν* begins the apodosis. On *αὐτῶν*, see II. 692, 2; G. 1003. — The argument of §§ 4–7, though stirring and hence satisfactory for the purposes of oratory, is not logically cogent; for the success of an energetic Philip over an inactive Athens affords no ground for expecting the success of an energetic Athens over an energetic Philip. Only on the supposition of Philip's sinking into apathy at the same time that Athens aroused herself, would the two compared cases be at all correspondent.

8. — πεπηγέναι ἀθάνατα, *are fixed for ever*. The pred. adj. ἀθάνατα is proleptic, i.e., expresses the result of the verb. — τις, *many a one*. The remark, μισεῖ . . . φθονεῖ, is applicable to the Paeonians, Illyrians, and Thessalians. — καὶ τῶν . . . ἔχειν, *even of those, etc.* — πάννυ: separated, to avoid hiatus, from οἰκίως, which it modifies. — καὶ ἅπανθ' . . . ἐνεῖναι, *and all those passions which exist in any other men, we must suppose to exist also in his followers*. For εἶ, see II. 785 a; G. 116, 2. καί, also, is often used, as here, in both the demonstrative and the relative clause. II. 1042. — κατέπτηχε. II. 849; G. 1263. — πάντα ταῦτα, *all these feelings or passions*, like ἅπαντα in the prec. sentence. — ἀποστροφῇ: virtually equivalent to καταφυγῇ. The idea is that, if Athens takes vigorous measures against Philip, the various forms of dissatisfaction in his empire, which do not now dare to show their heads, will rally about her.

9. — τὸ πρᾶγμα, *the state of the case*, explained by what follows. — ἀσελγείας: gen. partitive. II. 757; G. 1088. — ὥς φασι throws the responsibility for the statement upon common report. — καὶ οὐχ . . . περιστοιχίζεται, *and is not the man to rest in possession of what he has conquered* (lit. *holding the things which he has conquered to rest upon these*), *but is ever compassing something more and drawing his nets about us on all sides, while we delay and sit at ease*. μένειν depends upon οἶος. II. 1000; G. 1526. προσ- in προσπεριβάλλεται signifies *in addition*; for the rest of the word see L. & S. περιβάλλω. In περιστοιχίζεται we have a metaphor from hunting. See L. & S. στοῖχος II.

10. — ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται. II. 1012. — ἐπειδὴν . . . ᾗ: a fictitious answer, professing to state what is in the minds of the audience. νῆ Δία and the corresponding negative μὰ Δία were common colloquialisms, amounting to hardly more than intensive particles. νῆ Δία may here, as often, be translated *forsooth*, the sentence being spoken in a tone implying dissent or contempt on the part of the orator. — τί. II. 726; G. 1077. — ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, *For I, for my part*. γάρ introduces the reason for the implied answer (χρὴ τὰ γινόμενα ἀνάγκην ἡγεῖσθαι) to the preceding question. μὲν is used here, as often, without a correlative δέ, serving to give special prominence to ἐγὼ as against possible dissentients. Cf. VI, 16. — εἰπέ: used interjectionally, like ἄγε and φέρε, without regard to the number of persons addressed. — περιμόντες, *sauntering about, lounging about*. Cf. § 48; VI, 14. — αὐτῶν = ἀλλήλων. II. 686 a and b; G. 995, 996. — λέγεται τι καινόν; Cf. Acts of the Apostles, xvii, 21. — γένοιτο γάρ ἄν, *why, could there be?* γάρ is often thus used in animated questions, and this use is probably not to be derived from its value as a causal conjunction,

but to be regarded as one of the relics of its original value as an intensive particle.

11. — τέθνηκε . . . ἀσθeneί. The orator repeats dramatically a question and answer, supposed to be exchanged by two Athenians. For the allusion, see I. 23. — ἄν τι πάθῃ. L. & S. πάσχω II, 3, b. So below, § 12. — οὕτω : i.e., as you have been doing. — οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος, *for not even this man*, i.e., the existing Philip, in opposition to the future Philip, whom Athenian negligence might be expected to raise up. — παρὰ, *on account of*. Cf. IX, 2.

12. — καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, *But still further*. II. 612. — τὰ τῆς τύχης : hardly different in meaning from ἡ τύχη. D. is fond of such periphrases. Cf. § 32, τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ; § 45, τὸ τῆς τύχης and τὸ τῶν θεῶν ; IX, 45, τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. II. 621 b ; G. 953, end. — ἢ περ . . . ἐπιμελούμεθα — ἢ περ αἰὲ βέλτιον ἡμῶν ἐπιμελεῖται ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. In our sentence the verb is omitted in the first and expressed in the second member of the comparison, a construction contrary to the constant English, and the prevailing Greek custom. Cf. § 34, οὐχ ὥσπερ κ.τ.λ. — καὶ τοῦτ' : i.e., his death, implied in εἴ τι πάθοι. — ἔσθ' : probably imperative, while in IX, 30, κἀκείνὸ γε ἔστε, the form is indicative. — ὄντες — εἰ εἴητε. — ἐπιστάντες, *putting yourselves at the head of*. — διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν = εἰ οἱ καιροὶ διδοῖεν. On διδόντων, see II. 825 ; G. 1255. — Ἀμφίπολιν. I. 14, 15. — ἀπηρτημένοι, *far removed*, the opposite of πλησίον ὄντες. ἀπηρτημένοι . . . γνώμαις explains ὡς νῦν ἔχετε.

13. — Ὡς . . . ἐτοίμως. Construe : ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ (ὑμᾶς) ἅπαντας ὑπάρχειν ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν ἐτοίμως τὰ προσήκοντα, and make the clause dependent upon λέγων. ὑπάρχειν ἐθέλοντας, a favorite form of expression with D., is hardly different in meaning from ἐθέλειν. M. 830, end. — ὥς . . . πεπεισμένων, *in the assurance that you know and believe it*. II. 978 ; G. 1574. — τὸν τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς — τὸ πλῆθος — πόρους χρημάτων : three topics to be treated. The first two are taken up together, §§ 19-27, the last by itself, §§ 28-30. See the Analysis. — ὅσον — οὕστινας : se. ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν . . . οἶμαι. — καὶ δὴ, *at once*. — δεηθεῖς . . . τοσοῦτον, *asking from you, men of Athens, nothing but this*. τοσοῦτον refers to what follows, and is cognate accusative.

14. — κρίνατε — προλαμβάνετε. Notice the change of tense. The former verb denotes an act to take place at the conclusion of the exposition ; the latter, a continued state of mind during the exposition. προλαμβάνειν here = *to be prejudiced, to prejudge*. πρότερον is pleonastic. — ἐξ ἀρχῆς, *at first*. — οἱ εἰπόντες, *those who say*. In such cases as this the aorist participle retains its original meaning, not

denoting past time, and differing from the present participle only in not representing the action as prolonged or repeated. — εἰς δέον, *to the purpose*. Cf. § 40, εἰς δέον τι.

15. — τίς . . . δυνήσεται, *what armament being provided, and how great, and from what source, will be able to hold out*; i.e., *what must be the composition and the size and the means of support of an armament which shall be able to hold out*. The clause repeats the threefold division of the subject given § 13. — πεισθέντες implies a satisfactory adjustment by treaty. — οὕτω: i.e., if the war should be ended in either of the ways just mentioned. — τοῦ λοιποῦ: how different from τὸ λοιπόν? II. 759, end; G. 1136. — μή: used instead of οὐ on account of the inf. ἔχειν. II. 1027. — τὸ δὲ . . . δώσει, *but the case shall at once enter the proof that I have promised what I can perform*. πρᾶγμα is here used, as often, in the sense of a *law-suit* (cf. Lat. *res*), and the metaphor from judicial procedure is kept up by κραταί.

16. — On the Athenian navy, see I. 53. — πεντήκοντα: a moderate proportion of the whole number. — εἴτ'. See *ἔπειτα*, § 3, note. — αὐτοὺς — αὐτοῖς (sc. ὑμᾶς — ὑμῖν or ἡμᾶς — ἡμῖν): emphatic. The Athenians must act *in person*, not trust to mercenaries. — ὡς πλευστέον: sc. ὄν. L. & S. ὡς C, I, 3, end; M. 917, 918, 919. The omission of ὄν occurs occasionally after ὡς. Cf. M. 911. — ἴάν τι δέη, *if there be any need; if, perchance, it be necessary*. Cf. IX, 71. — τοῖς ἡμίσεσι: dat. of advantage. The gender and number of the word are determined by τῶν ἱππέων. On the Athenian ἱππεῖς, see I. 52.

17. — ταῦτα μὲν: repeated at the beginning of § 19, where the expected δὲ follows. — τὰς . . . στρατείας, *those (well-known) sudden expeditions of his, etc.* On ἐξαίφνης, see II. 600; G. 952, 1. For the position of ταύτας and αὐτοῦ, see II. 673 c; G. 975. The words εἰς . . . βούλεται are attributive to στρατείας. When a noun preceded by the article has several attributives, one of these sometimes follows the noun without the article; moreover, to a verbal noun, like στρατείας, even though it have no attributive before it, attributive prepositional phrases are sometimes annexed without the article. — Πύλας — Χερρόνησον — Ὀλυνθον. I. 22, 23, 28. — ἐκ . . . ἄγαν, *awaking from this excessive indolence*. — ὥσπερ: sc. ὠρυήσατε. — Εὐβοϊαν — Ἀλιάρτον — Πύλας. I. 6, 2, 22. — φασιν. The Attic orators generally refer to oral tradition rather than to books as the source of historical information. Cf. §§ 23, 24; IX, 48.

18. — Surely it (i.e., the preparation I recommend) is not altogether to be despised, even if you would not do that (i.e., make sudden expeditions), as I say you ought; (on the contrary, it is worth while), in



order that he either may know you to be in readiness . . . and keep quiet through fear, or, disregarding these preparations, may be caught off his guard, etc. For *ἂν* with *ποιήσαιτ'*, see L. & S. *ἂν* B, III, d ; G. 1421, 3. *εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς* = *εἰδὼς ὑμᾶς ὄντας εὐτρεπεῖς*. Cf. § 41, *ἐὰν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πύθῃσθε Φίλιππον*. The omission of the copula is common in such cases in Greek, as in English. — *εἰσὶ* — *εἰσὶν* : not the copula, but the substantive verb. — *οἱ* . . . *ἐξαγγέλλοντες*. I. 27. — *μηδενὸς* : masc. or neut. ; used rather than *οὐδενὸς* on account of the mode of *ληφθῆναι*. II. 1027. — *πλεῖν* depends upon *ὄντος ἐμποδῶν*. M. 807 a. *πλεῖν* . . . *χώραν* must be distinguished from the sort of expedition referred to at the end of the preceding section. D. means to say that even if the Athenians do not make sudden expeditions to meet Philip and check his advances, they may descend upon his territory when he is absent or unprepared. — *ἐνδῶ* : sc. *ὁ Φίλιππος*.

19. — To the comparatively commonplace and unimportant recommendations of §§ 16–18, D. does not recur in the course of the oration, just as in the introductory passage, §§ 13–15, he does not appear to have had them in view. His main effort is to secure the adoption of the measures set forth in §§ 19–22. The novel features of his plan (cf. § 14, *ἂν δοκῶ τι καὶνὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν*) are these : (1) the force to be raised is to be a permanent one ; (2) it is to be composed, to the extent of one fourth part, of Athenians ; (3) after serving for a fixed term, the Athenian members of the force are to be relieved by fellow-citizens. On the whole subject, see I. 52, 54. — *δεδοχθαι* — *παρασκευάσθαι*. While the aorist infinitives would denote the performance of the actions, the perfects denote the condition of their having been performed. But, in this connection, there is no more difference of sense than in English between *These preparations ought to be adopted* and *These preparations ought to exist*. Cf. M. 109, 110. — *μή μοι* : sc. *λέξετε* or *λεγέτω τις*. H. 612. — *ἐπιστολιμαίους δυνάμεις*, *paper-forces* ; i.e., forces promised in letters (*ἐπιστολαί*) to generals abroad, but not actually sent. Cf. §§ 30, 45. For the meaning and position of *ταύτας*, see § 17, *ταύτας*, note. — *ἀλλ'* : sc. *δυναμίν τινα*. — *τῆς πόλεως*, *under the control of the city*. — *κἂν* — *κἂν*. These particles, literally meaning *both if* — *and if*, regularly correspond to our *whether* — *or*. In this instance we must either take the *καὶ* of the first *κἂν* as meaning *and*, and suppose that *ἂν* — *κἂν* are used in the sense of *κἂν* — *κἂν*, a use for which no parallel has been found ; or we must, with several editors, insert *καὶ* into the text after *ἔσται*. — *τὸν δεῖνα*, *So-and-so*. *ὁ δεῖνα* often refers to a particular person, whom one cannot or will not call by name ; here, and regularly in D., it is used like the



English *Mr. A.* or *Mr. B.*, where a particular name would be appropriate, but none is definitely indicated. It thus differs from *τις* and *ὅστις*οὖν, which are wholly indefinite in meaning. — *όντινούν.* L. & S. *ὅστις* IV, 2, b; II. 1002 a. — *τροφὴν* = *σιτηρέσιον*. See I. 55.

20. — *ἔσται . . . ἔξει*: the same threefold division as in §§ 13, 15. — *ταῦτα ποιεῖν*: i.e., *πεῖθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν*. — *καθ' ἑκαστον*. This phrase, originally meaning *one by one*, came to be sometimes used in the sense of *ἑκαστος* alone, both in the nominative and the oblique cases. It is here object of *δουξάν*. Similarly *καθ' ἑνα*, IX, 22. See II. 600. — *ξένους μὲν λέγω*, *Mercenaries, on the one hand, I propose*. The sentence is resumed in a different form at the beginning of the next section. — *ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε*. II. 886; G. 1352. — *ἔβλαψεν*: gnomic aor. G. 1293. — *ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν*, *at the time of action*.

21. — *δὴ*: resumptive. — *τοὺς . . . δισχιλίους*, *foot-soldiers 2,000 in all*. L. & S. *πᾶς C. H.* — *ἧς ἂν τινος ἡστίως ἂν*. — *μὴ*: used rather than *οὐ* through the influence of *εἶναι*. II. 1027. — *ἐκ . . . ἀλλήλοις*, *relieving one another*. *διαδοχή*, like *διαδέχεσθαι* and *διάδοχος*, may be followed by a dative. — *ὥσπερ . . . στρατευομένους* = *στρατευομένους τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς*. The noun following *ὥσπερ* is here, as often, attracted from the nominative to the case of the noun in the former member of the comparison. — *ἵππαγωγούς*. I. 53. Transports (*στρατιώτιδες*) for the 2,000 foot-soldiers are not mentioned by the orator, but are, of course, understood.

22. — *εἶεν*, *so far, so good*. — *ἔχοντος . . . ναυτικόν*. I. 15, 21. The fact that D. regarded ten war ships (*ταχείας τριήρεις*, I. 53) as a sufficient convoy for the transports, indicates that Philip's navy was still small. — *καὶ . . . τριήρων*. Notice that *καὶ* belongs with the words *ταχειῶν τριήρων*, not with *ἡμῶν*. — *ἐπειδὴν . . . διδάξω*, *when I have shown why, etc.* — *τηλικάυτην*, *of such a size, i.e., so small*. — *πολίτας . . . κελεύω*. The natural translation would be, *I urge that those who make the expedition be citizens*. But D. has not proposed that all, but only that a fourth part of the force be Athenians. It is necessary, therefore, to take *εἶναι* as the substantive verb, having as its subject *πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους*, which hardly differs from *τοὺς στρατευομένους πολίτας*, and to translate, *I demand the existence of the (just-mentioned) citizens doing military service*.

23. — *τοσαύτην* (— *τηλικάυτην*): sc. *ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι*. — *ἐνι*, *it is possible*. Cf. § 8. *ἐνι*, note. — *πορίσασθαι*. Compare with *πορίσαντας*, § 25, and account for the difference of voice. — *τὴν . . . παραταξομένην* = *ἧτις ἐκείνῳ παρατάσσεται*, *fit to meet him in the open field*. The fut. part. with the article is often thus used to describe a person or thing as

intended, fit, or likely to do something. Cf. M. 826. — **τούτῳ . . . χρῆσθαι** : amplification of *λυστεῖν*. — **τὴν πρώτην**, *at first*. II. 622 ; G. 1060. The implication is that by and by it will be possible to cope with Philip in regular warfare. — **μισθὸς — τροφή**. I. 55. — **ἀκούω**. Cf. § 17. *φασιν*, note ; § 24, *οἶδα ἀκούων*. For the tense of *ἀκούω*, see II. 827 ; M. 28. — **τρέφειν — συστρατεύεσθαι** = *ὅτι ἔτρεφεν — συνεστρατεύεσθε*. G. 1285, 1 ; M. 119 ; H. 853 a. For the fact, see I. 2. — **αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς**. Would *ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς* be admissible here ? H. 687 b.

24. — **ἐνίκων**. The Athenians gained several successes in the Corinthian War, but among these regarded with most pride the exploit of Iphikrates mentioned in the Introduction, § 2, as appears from the repeated references to it in the orators. It seems probable, then, that D. has here this victory in mind. The imperfect of *νικάω* is often used in speaking of a single occasion. — **ἐξ . . . στρατεύεται**, *But since the mercenary troops have conducted your expeditions by themselves*. On *ἐξ οὗ*, see II. 999 b ; on *αὐτὰ*, II. 688 a ; on *στρατεύεται*, Madvig's Lat. Gram. 334, Obs. ; II. 826 ; G. 1258. — **νικάῃ** : used instead of some such word as *ἀδικεῖ*, in order to make a rhetorical antithesis with the preceding sentence. See I. 8. — **πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον, κ.τ.λ.** I. 8. — **μᾶλλον** : *sc. ἢ ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἐκπέμφθῃ*. — **εἰκότως**, *and no wonder*. D. represents Chares as obliged to yield to the wishes of his soldiers, which view, in the case referred to, is probably too favorable to that general. — **μὴ διδόντα**, H. 1025 ; G. 1612.

25. — **ἐπόπτας — μάρτυρας**. Cf. § 47. — **τῶν στρατηγουμένων**, *of the conduct of the generals*. II. 819 c ; G. 1240, 3. **παρακαταστήσαντας**. Give the meaning of the prepositions in composition. — **γέλως** = *γελοῖον*. Cf. the use of *ἀνάγκη* in the sense of *ἀναγκάιον*. Similarly we say in English, *It is a shame to do this*, using *shame* in the sense of *shameful* ; and so on. — **εἰ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.** *γὰρ* introduces the justification of *νῦν*. . . *πράγμασιν*. This justification extends through sections 26 and 27, which dwell with sarcastic insistence upon the folly of keeping Athenian officers idle at home, and entrusting the military interests of the state to foreigners.

26. — **οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε**, *Were you not in the habit of electing ?* referring to the recent period during which the Athenians had been at war with Philip. We might translate, *Did you not elect*, and understand the words as referring to the last annual election, but that the following sentences seem to describe the conduct, not of the officers for that year only, but of such officers generally. *χειροτονεῖτε* would suit the connection much better, but this reading has no manuscript authority. — **ταξίαρχους — στρατηγούς — φυλάρχους — ἱππάρχους**. See I. 52, and

Diet. Antiq. — τὰς πομπὰς. Processions formed a popular and splendid feature of some of the Athenian festivals, as the Panathenaea. In these processions the cavalry with their officers played an important part; what the generals and taxiarchs had to do is not known. — ἱεροποιῶν: ten in number, yearly chosen by lot to superintend the state sacrifices. — ὥσπερ . . . πηλίνους: condensed for ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους ταξιάρχους καὶ φυλάρχους εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ποιοῦσιν. The terra-cotta images referred to were used as toys by children. See Becker's Charicles, Excursus to Scene I. — εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν. The agora was a place where, amongst other business operations, small wares were exposed for sale; it was also, by virtue of its central situation, an important scene for processional displays. The sentence alludes to both these facts. Translate: *For like those who mould officers in clay, you elect your taxiarchs and phylarchs for the market-place, not for the war; i.e., your officers are mere puppets, of no use but to make a show in the market-place.*

27. — οὐ γὰρ . . . εἶναι, *Why, ought there not, men of Athens, to be taxiarchs from among you, a hipparch from among you, in a word, citizen officers?* For γὰρ, see § 10, last note; for ἐχρῆν, § 1, ἔδει, note. Although two hipparchs were annually elected, apparently an established custom, which D. did not wish to combat, required the presence of one of them in Athens, to officiate in the religious processions. Hence D. here urges only that one hipparch should serve abroad with the army. — ἔν' ἦν. II. 884; G. 1371. — ὥς ἀληθῶς, *in very truth*. Cf. VI, 10, ὥς ἐτέρως, note. — Λημνον. I. 3. From a fragment of the orator Hypereides, it appears that an Athenian hipparch visited Lemnos each year. Our passage suggests that the object was to assist in some religious celebration. — Μενέλαον. Nothing is certainly known about this man, except the fact inferable from the context here, that he was not an Athenian. Probably he was a Pelagonian (see Corp. Inscript. Att. II 55). Athens in the age of Demosthenes often engaged foreign captains in her service, who would be called στρατηγοί or ἵππαρχοι according as they commanded foot or horse, but these were in addition to the ten generals and the two hipparchs yearly elected by the city from the number of her own citizens. In the appointment of Menelaos there had been, as appears from the next sentence, an extreme irregularity; he had not received his commission from the Ekklésia, but from some unauthorized person; perhaps, for example, from the mercenary general, Charidemus. — ἀλλ' . . . τοῦτον. This sentence, which bears on an entirely different abuse from that which the orator has been combating, makes an

ineffective ending to the passage. — ἔδει : how different from δεῖ, in the preceding sentence ? Cf. ἐχρῆν, above. — ὅστις ἂν ᾖ. M. 537. 2.

28. — τὸ τῶν χρημάτων, *the question of funds*. — τοῦτο . . . περαινῶ, *This subject, then, I proceed to treat* (lit. *go through with*). καὶ emphasizes περαινῶ : as you desire to hear, so I will also discuss. περαινῶ is a pres. rhetorically used for the fut. — χρήματα : nom., indicating the subject-matter of the following exposition. Cf. the use of the nom. in titles, as below, Πόρου Ἀπόδοεις. — ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή. These words awaken the expectation of a passage, beginning ἔστι δ' ὁ μισθός, and making computation of the amount needed for wages. Instead of this, the adversative passage (εἰ δέ τις οἶεται κ.τ.λ.) states that no money need be raised for wages. The meaning of τροφή is made more unmistakable by the appositive σιτηρέσιον, *ration-money*. The computations (see I. 55) are for one year, thus :—

10 ships will cost . . . . . 20 minæ × 10 × 12 = 2,400 minæ = 40 talents.  
2,000 foot-soldiers,

10 drachmæ × 2,000 × 12 = 240,000 drachmæ = 2,400 minæ = 40 talents.

200 cavalry-soldiers,

30 drachmæ × 200 × 12 = 72,000 drachmæ = 720 minæ = 12 talents.

Total, 92 talents.

It will be observed that the orator makes no provision for the support of crews for the transport triremes (cf. § 21). Perhaps he intended that the soldiers, instead of going as passengers, should themselves row the transports. This sometimes occurred ; a case in Thucydides, III, 18. — πρόσ. II. 785 ; G. 1222. 1. — τὴν ναῦν. II. 657 c. The same use of the article in ὁ στρατιώτης and τοῦ μνηρός, below. — τοσαυτ' ἔτερα, *as much more, forty talents*. The same words sometimes mean *as much again, twice as much*.

29. — εἰ . . . ἔγνωνεν, *But if any one thinks the existence of ration-money for the expedition to be an insufficient provision, he is mistaken*. σιτηρέσιον . . . ὑπάρχειν is subject of εἶναι, and ἀφορμὴν is a predicate-nom. — τοῦτ' ἂν. In Greek, emphatic words may precede the conjunctions εἰ, ὥς, ὅτι, etc. Cf. § 43 ; IX, 16, 44, 68. — προσποριεῖ. The middle form might have been expected, but the reference of the action to the subject is left out of account. The idea is: the army will relieve the state by itself supplying the deficit. — ἐγὼ . . . ἔτοιμος. The ellipsis of the first and second persons of the copula, as well as of the third, is common with ἔτοιμος. In IX. 4. ἔτοιμος is used alone for ἐγὼ εἰμι ἔτοιμος. — ὁτιοῦν. See § 19, ὀντινοῦν, note. — πόθεν : sc. ἔσται. — λέξω, *I will read*. At this point a statement of ways and means (Πόρου Ἀπόδοεις) is read by the orator. The document is lost.

30. — ἡμεῖς. D. never uses the plural in speaking of himself alone. He must therefore have had assistance in the preparation of his paper, probably from one or more officials connected with the department of finance. — ἐπειδὴν . . . γνώμας, *but when you are voting upon the propositions or motions*; i.e., mine and those of subsequent speakers. — ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη. This is Sauppe's emendation for the difficult manuscript reading, ἂ ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη. Cf. IX, 70, ἐγὼ νῆ Δί' ἐρῶ καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστε, ἂν βούλησθε, χειροτονήσετε; De Symmoriis, 14, οἶμαι δὴ δεῖν ἀκούσαντας ὑμᾶς αὐτήν, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, ψηφίζεσθαι. — χειροτονήσετε, *you will adopt them*, i.e., my measures. — ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. See § 19, ἐπιστολιμαίους, note.

31. — Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι — ἂν — βουλεύεσθαι, *But it seems to me that you would deliberate*. δοκέω is very seldom used impersonally when the personal construction is admissible. II. 944, a. — ὅτι . . . Φίλιππος, *that by the help of the winds and the seasons of the year Philip gets the start of you, and so accomplishes most of his designs*; lit. *accomplishes most things by getting a prior hold upon them*, τὰ πολλὰ being object of both προλαμβάνων and διαπράττεται. The meaning of this clause is made more explicit by what follows, φυλάξας . . . ἀφικέσθαι. — φυλάξας . . . χειμῶνα, *waiting for the clesian winds or the winter*. The strong northerly winds which blow in the Aegean Sea during dog-days were called ἐτησίαι. They would greatly hinder an Athenian fleet making for Macedon. Again, the Greeks were accustomed to suspend navigation in the stormy season of winter. — ἥνικ' ἂν μὴ δυνάίμεθα, *when we could not*. This is a hypothetical or indefinite relative sentence; hence the use of μὴ. II. 1021; G. 1428. 1. The use of the opt. with ἂν is analogous to that in § 18, εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο. See also M. 557.

32. — βοηθείαις, *extemporized forces*, opposed to παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. — ὑστεριοῦμεν ἀπάντων: as in the instances cited § 35. — ὑπάρχει . . . δυνάμει, *and it is possible for you to use as winter-quarters for the force*. For χειμαδίω, see § 3, παραδείγμασι, note. — Δήμῳ . . . νήσοις. I. 3, 30. — ἃ χρὴ στρατεύματι: sc. ὑπάρχειν. — τὴν δ' . . . ἔσται, *but during the season of the year when it is easy to get to land, and the winds are safe, it (the force) will easily hold a position near the country (Macedonia) itself, and near the entrances to the commercial ports*; in order, obviously, to commit depredations on Philip's coast, to prevent exportation and importation, and, in general, to carry out the object (see § 23) for which the force was to be created. On τῶν πνευμάτων, see § 12, τὰ τῆς τύχης, note.

33. — Ἄ χρήσεται, *What uses he* (sc. ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστάς) *will*



make. II. 716 b; G. 1054. — *παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν*, *as occasion arises*. — *ὁ . . . ὑμῶν*, *the one appointed by you in charge of these undertakings*. *κύριος* is a pred. adj. with *καταστάς*. II. 667 b. — *γέγραφα*. This shows that this speech was accompanied by a motion embodying its recommendations. For the technical use of *γράφω*, see I. 60. — *ἂν . . . λέγω* = *ἂν πρῶτον πορίσητε*, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα ἂν λέγω. The asyndeton is due to the fact that this sentence is a mere summing up of recommendations previously made and referred to in what immediately precedes. — *ἐντελῇ . . . δύναμιν*, in a word, *the whole force complete*. *δύναμιν* is in the same construction as the preceding accusatives, and *ἐντελῇ* is used proleptically in agreement with it. Cf. § 8, *ἀθάνατα*, note. The object of *κατακλείσητε* is to be supplied from *δύναμιν*. Some editors, omitting the comma after *δύναμιν*, construe *ἐντελῇ* as in agreement with *τὰλλα*, and *δύναμιν* as object of *κατακλείσητε*. — *ταμίαι καὶ πορίσταί*. Of the poristae very little is known; they were presumably appointed on special occasions to devise ways of raising funds. The tamiae were treasurers, who superintended the outlay of the public moneys. See Dict. Antiq. D. demands that the Athenians themselves attend to the provision and expenditure of funds, instead of throwing these responsibilities upon their generals (cf. I. 8), and that the generals be held accountable only for their conduct of military affairs. — *τὸν λόγον*, *the account*, which generals, like other Athenian officials, were obliged to render at the conclusion of their term of service. See Dict. Antiq., EUTHYNE.

34. — *ἀπὸ . . . συμμάχων*: i.e., it is by preying upon the commerce of your own allies that he obtains the means of carrying on war against you (see I. 21). *ὑμετέρων* and *ὑμῖν* are brought together for emphasis. — *ἄγων καὶ φέρων*, *agens et ferens, plundering*. — *αὐτοὶ*, *yourselves*, in contrast with your allies. — *οὐχ ὥσπερ κ.τ.λ.* The expression is here condensed by omitting the principal verbs, instead of omitting, as is done in English in such cases, the subordinate verbs. The meaning is: *οὐκ οἰχήσεται ἔχων ὥσπερ ὥχετ' ἔχων κ.τ.λ.* This is the regular ellipsis with *οὐχ ὥσπερ*. Cf. § 12, *ἐπιμελούμεθα*, note. Translate freely: *he will not treat you as he did in the past, when, etc.* — *πολίτας ὑμετέρους*: settled as kleruchs in Lemnos and Imbros. I. 3. — *ὥχετ' ἔχων*, *went off with, carried off*. While the present of *οἰχομαι* and *ἤκω* is used as a perfect, the imperfect has commonly the meaning of a simple preterite. — *Γεραιστῶ*: a convenient station for merchant-vessels bound from the Pontus or the northern Aegean for Athens. — *ἐξέλεξε*, *levied*, as ransom. — *ἀπέβη*, *disembarked*. — *τὴν*



ἱερὰν τριήρη. The Athenian state owned a number of sacred triremes, which were used to convey religious embassies from Athens, and on other public business. See Diet. Antiq., SALAMINIA. The presence of one of these vessels (the Paralos) at Marathon is, perhaps, to be explained by a statement of Philochoros, quoted in a scholium to Soph. (Ed. Col. 1047, to the effect that the Delian theoria regularly touched at Marathon, to receive the blessing of the priest of Apollo there. — εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, *at the times*. II. 796 b, end.

35. — καίτοι . . . ποτέ, *But now why in the world?* δῆ and ποτε give urgency to the question. — Παναθηναίων — Διονυσίων: the most important and costly of the Athenian festivals. The Panathenaea was celebrated especially by gymnastic and musical contests and a magnificent procession (cf. § 26); the principal Dionysiac festivals, by the representation of dramas in the theatre. See Diet. Antiq.

χρόνου. II. 759; G. 1136. — ἄν τε . . . ἐπιμελούμενοι, *whether experienced or inexperienced men are chosen by lot as the superintendents of each of these*. With ἄν τε — ἄν τε, cf. § 19, κἂν — κἂν. For the management of the Panathenaeic contests, ten men, called athlothetae, were annually appointed by lot. The First Archon had charge of the Dionysia. — οὐδ' εἰς ἕνα: more emphatic than εἰς οὐδένα. An idea of the expensiveness of the Athenian festivals may be gained from an inscription of the year 410 B.C., which records that at the Panathenaea of that year 5,114 drachmae were paid to the sacrificial magistrates for a hecatomb, and 5½ talents to the athlothetae for the contests: which two items must be understood to make only a small proportion of the whole outlay for the occasion. If, then, we understand D. to mean that the combined expenses of the Panathenaeic and Dionysiac festivals in one year exceed the expenses of one expedition, the statement may not be much exaggerated. — καὶ . . . ἔχει = καὶ ἔχει τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσην οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων (έχει). ἔχει here serves as the verb for both the antecedent and the relative sentence. II. 1006. In the former, a subject is to be supplied to it from ἀ above. H. 1005; G. 1041. τι τῶν ἀπάντων = *any thing in the world*. — Μεθώνην — Παγασάς — Πισιδίαιαν. I. 18, 21, 17.

36. — πρόοιδεν ἐκ πολλοῦ, *knows long beforehand*. — χορηγὸς — γυμνασίαρχος. See I. 49 and Diet. Antiq., LEITURGIA. — πότε . . . ποιεῖν, *what he must get and when and from whom, and what he must do* (lit. *when and from whom and what having received, what he must do*): Cf. § 3, ἡλίκην — ὥς, note. The idea is: every man knows what part he is to play in the approaching festival, and how he must prepare himself for it. — ἀνέξεταστον — ἀόριστον: *preceptive*. Cf. § 8.

ἀθάνατα, note. — ἅμα . . . καθίσταμεν. ἅμα — καὶ (lit. = *at the same time* — *and*), may be translated, *no sooner* — *than*. — τριηράρχους — ἀντιδόσεις. I. 49, 50. — μετοίκους. See I. 54 and Diet. Antiq. — ἔδοξε: gnomic aorist. — τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας. These were either a class of slaves, or perhaps rather the freedmen, so called because they lived apart from their masters or former masters. — αὐτοὺς. Cf. § 16, αὐτοὺς — αὐτοῖς, note. — ἀντεμβιβάζειν, *to man the triremes otherwise*, meaning, perhaps, to return to the original plan of sending metics and freedmen, or perhaps to adopt a new plan, e.g., to send slaves.

37. — ἐν . . . μέλλεται, *while these delays are occurring*. The nom. ταῦτα corresponds to the cognate acc. after an active form of μέλλω. G. 1240, 1. — τὸ . . . ἐκπλέωμεν, *the object of our expedition*. The article agrees with the relative clause. II. 655 c. — οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων καιροί, *the opportunities afforded by circumstances*; cf. Thuc. I, 142, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί. Or the phrase may be translated, *the opportunities for deeds*; cf. IX, 38, τὸν καιρὸν ἐκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων. — εἰρωνεῖαν. See § 7, note. — ἄς . . . ἐξελέγχονται, *And the forces which we think we have in the meantime are proved just at the critical moments to be able to do nothing*. The idea is: the few ships and men that we have in readiness, and have to rely on until our armament is ready, prove worthless when needed. ποιεῖν depends on οἶαί τε. II. 1000; G. 1024 (b). — ὕβρεως. Cf. § 9, ἀσελγείας, note. — τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς. At this point the letters are read. See I. 21.

38. — ὥς οὐκ ἔδει, *alas*. — οὐ μὴν ἀλλ', *nevertheless* (II. 1035 c), correlative of μέν. — εἰ μὲν . . . ὑπερβήσεται, *if all that one passes over in his speech, in order not to give annoyance, circumstances also shall pass over*; or (taking τὰ πράγματα as object of ὑπερβήσεται), *he shall pass over the realities also*. With the latter construction the sentence is anacoluthic; καὶ ἔργῳ ὑπερβήσεται would be expected instead of τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβήσεται. With either construction the sense is the same: if disagreeable things can be averted by merely not alluding to them. — πρὸς ἡδονήν, *with a view to pleasure, so as to please*. Cf. § 51, πρὸς χάριν. II. 805 c. — χάρις, *agreeableness*. — ἂν . . . προσήκουσα, *if it be not timely*. What is the conclusion of this condition? — ἔργῳ: contrasted with λόγῳ. — φενακίζειν. The subject is indefinite. H. 942.

39. — οὐκ modifies δεῖ; ἀκολουθεῖν would require μή. The order of words corresponds to that in such English sentences as, *I ask, not this, but that*. — οὕτω repeats τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. — τοὺς βουλευομένους, *those who deliberate*; i.e., in the case of Athens, the citizens in the Ekklesia. The words are subject of ἡγεῖσθαι understood. — ἐκείνοις

(i.e., τοῖς βουλευομένοις): more emphatic than αὐτοῖς. — τὰ συμβάντα διώκειν, *to chase after events*, instead of guiding them.

40. — ἀπάντων. This must refer to the Greek states only. At any rate, in 351, the resources of Athens in men and money were inferior to those of Macedon. — εἰς δέον τι, *to any purpose*. Cf. § 14, εἰς δέον. — οὐδέν ἀπολείπετε (lit. *you leave out nothing*), *you do nothing less than*. — οἱ βάρβαροι: not trained like the Greeks in gymnastics. — τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, *follows the blow, brings his hands to the part struck*, instead of anticipating and warding off the coming blow. — ἐκεῖσέ εἰσιν, lit. *thither are*, combining the ideas, *go thither and are there*. II. 788 b; G. 1226. — προβάλλεσθαι, *to hold his hands before himself*, so as to parry blows. — βλέπειν ἐναντίον, *to look his adversary in the eye*.

41. — καὶ ὑμεῖς: introducing the second member of the comparison, instead of οὕτως ὑμεῖς. Cf. IX, 70. — Χερρονήσῳ — Πύλαις. I. 23, 22. — πύθησθε. Cf. § 18, εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς, note. — ἄνω κάτω: a common abbreviation for ἄνω καὶ κάτω, ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω — στρατηγείσθε. II. 819 a; G. 1236. — πρὶν . . . πύθησθε: exegetical of πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων. — ταῦτα . . . ἐγχωρεῖ, *And this conduct perhaps once answered; but it has now gone its full length, so that it is no longer possible*. The ἀκμή is the highest point, beyond which it is impossible to go; here virtually equivalent to τελευτή. ταῦτα is the subject of the three following verbs, of which ἐνῆν and ἐγχωρεῖ are usually impersonal. Another explanation makes the subject of ἦκει indeterminate (II. 602 d; G. 897, 3), but this seems less natural.

42. — ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως: to be joined with αἰσχυρόμενος. — ἔχων ὁ κατέστραπται. Cf. § 9, ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται. — ἀποχρῆν . . . δημοσίᾳ, *I think that some of you would acquiesce in a state of things in consequence of which we should be condemned, as a nation, to shame and the reproach of cowardice and all that is most shameful*. The subject of δοκεῖ is the implied antecedent of the following relative. For what finite mode does ἀποχρῆν stand? II. 964 b; G. 1308. The verb ὀφλισκάω may be used with an accusative either of the penalty or the charge; here αἰσχύνην is penalty, ἀνανδρίαν is charge. Το ὀφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν supply mentally as condition, *if we acquiesced*. The position of δημοσίᾳ is emphatic. — νῦν δ', *But as it is*. Often so, especially after a condition contrary to reality. — τοῦ πλείονος, *that which is more, or simply, more*.

43. — θαυμάζω — εἰ, *I wonder that*. II. 926; G. 1423. — ἐνθυμείται, *is concerned*. — περὶ — ὑπὲρ, *in reference to — for the sake of*. περὶ here comes near to the proper meaning of ὑπὲρ, cf. the opposite change of

meaning in § 1. — οὐ στήσεται, *will not stop*. — εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενούμεν, *Shall we then wait for this?* i.e., for some one to hinder him. εἴτα introduces an indignant question. — κενὰς : i.e., without soldiers. — τὰς . . . ἐλπίδας, *So-and-so's hopes*. (Cf. § 45, τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας. — ἐὰν. For the position of the word, see § 29, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, note.

44. — μέρει . . . οἰκείων, *with some portion, at least, of citizen soldiers*. στρατιωτῶν is a gen. of material. Different is the phrase, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως, § 45, where the gen. is partitive. — νῦν . . . πρότερον. (Cf. § 6, νῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον. — ἥρετό τις : a rhetorical fiction, a more vivid expression than ἔροιτ' ἄν τις. — οὐδέποτε . . . δέοντων, *never shall we obtain anything that we need*. H. 1032 ; G. 1360.

45. — τῆς πόλεως = τῶν πολιτῶν. — κἂν μὴ πάσα. It is usual to supply here ἀποσταλῇ, but συναποσταλῇ, which is more natural, makes sufficiently good sense. *Wherever some part of the city, even if not the whole, is sent with the mercenaries*. — τὸ τῶν θεῶν — τὸ τῆς τύχης. Cf. § 12, τὰ τῆς τύχης. εὐμενὲς is pred. to τὸ τῶν θεῶν. Others take τὸ εὐμενὲς as subj., and translate, *the favor of the gods and that of fortune*. — ψήφισμα κενὸν, *an empty* (i.e., *unexecuted*) *vote*. (Cf. §§ 19, 20, 30. — ἀλλ' . . . ἀποστόλους, *but your enemies deride, and your allies are in mortal fear of, such expeditions*. ἀποστόλους, belonging in sense equally with καταγελῶσιν and τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει, takes the case required by the latter expression. For the construction, see II. 713 ; L. & S. θνήσκω I. 2, end. In explanation of the fear of the allies, see I. 8.

46. — ἕνα ἄνδρα : i.e., the general. D. may have in mind Chares, who was proverbial for making promises (ὑποσχέσθαι) which he could not perform. — ἀπομίσθων, *unpaid*. The word has also the meaning *paid off*. — οἱ . . . ὧσιν = οἱ δὲ ῥαδίως ψευδόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκείνος πράξῃ ἐνθάδ' ὧσιν. The idea is that the generals are recklessly (ῥαδίως) impeached by men who remain in Athens (ἐνθάδε), and who have consequently no proper knowledge of the generals' deserts. ὑπὲρ here = περὶ. Cf. § 1. — ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε (sc. ψηφισόμενοι), *whatever you may happen to, at hap-hazard*. — τί . . . προσδοκᾶν, *what must we expect?* καὶ gives emphasis to the question.

47. — ὅταν, *when*, does not correspond strictly with πῶς, *how*, of the preceding question. — στρατιώτας — μάρτυρας — δικαστὰς : pred. accus. — εὐθυνῶν. Cf. § 33, τὸν λόγον, note. δικαστὰς τῶν εὐθυνῶν are dikasts in suits in which an official's accounts are impeached. — ὑμᾶς : grammatically superfluous, but rhetorically emphatic. — τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν. Cf. § 7, note. — αἰσχύνης. Cf. § 9, ἀσελγείας, note ; § 37, ὕβρεως. — δις καὶ τρίς : idiomatic for *two or three times*. — κρίνεται περὶ

θανάτου - ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου, *is tried for his life - to contend at the risk of his life*. See I. 8. - τὸν . . . θάνατον. Kidnapping, whether of free persons or slaves, and the stealing of clothes, especially from the baths, were common crimes at Athens, and were punished, like pocket-picking, burglary, temple-robbery, etc., with death. — τοῦ προσήκοντος: *sc. θανάτου*.

48. — οἱ μὲν . . . διασπᾶν, *some, sauntering about* (cf. § 10), *say that Philip, in conjunction with the Lacedaemonians, is engaged in putting down the Thebans, and is breaking up the confederacies*. τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, *to wrest apart the republics*, probably means, to dismember the Boeotian and Arcadian confederacies. I. 5. Philip never gratified the Spartans in the way described, but he may have encouraged them to hope that he would do so. — ὥς — πέπομφεν: *unusual, after φημί, for πεπομφέναι*. II. 946 b; G. 1523. 2. This report may have been well founded, for, according to Arrian, Anab. 2, 14, 2, Darius Nothus represented to Alexander the Great that Philip had once contracted an alliance with Artaxerxes. — ἐν . . . τειχίζειν. I. 18. — οἱ δέ—. Instead of adding another item of gossip, the orator breaks off, and concludes with a general statement.

49. — τὴν . . . κωλυσόντων, *the absence of any to hinder him*. Cf. § 23. τὴν παραταξομένην, *note*. — οὐ μέντοι γε (*sc. οἶμαι*), *yet by no means*.

50. — ἐκείνο refers to what follows. — ἅπανθ' . . . εὖρηται, *and all that we ever yet expected any one to do for us, he has been found to have done against us*. D. is of course thinking mainly of Philip, but speaks indefinitely, so as to include others by whose promises the Athenians have been deceived. Supply πράξας with εὖρηται, whose subject is to be taken from *τινα*; or ἅπανθ' may be the subject and παραχθέντα understood. — ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν, *in our own hands*. — τὰ δέοντα . . . ἐγνωκότες, *we shall have recognized the things needful, shall have a due appreciation of the situation*. Cf. M. 80. — ἅπτα ποτ'. For the use of ποτε, cf. § 35, τί δὴ ποτε, *note*. — ἀλλ' . . . εἶδέναι = ἀλλὰ δεῖ εἰ εἶδέναι ὅτι φαῦλ' ἔσται, *ἂν μὴ, κ.τ.λ.*

51. — Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν: a common formula at the beginning of the epilogue to an oration, suggesting a contrast between the orator's own opinion or conduct and that of others. Cf. § 10, ἐγὼ μὲν, *note*. — οὐπ' — τε. II. 1044 a. — ἄλλοτε. I. 25, 26. — πρὸς χάριν. Cf. § 38, πρὸς ἡδονήν, *note*. — ὅ τι ἂν . . . ᾧ. The subj. with ἂν, which would have stood after αἰροῦμαι λέγειν, is here retained, although the principal verb is put in a past tense. M. 694 (not 533). If the principal clause had had a finite verb, e.g., αἶπον, instead of αἰλόμην λέγειν, the



mode in the relative clause would have been indicative. M. 536. — ἃ γινώσκω. I. 60. — πεπαρησιασμαι. I. 26. — ἐβουλόμην . . . εἰπόντι, *But I wish that, as I know that it is profitable to you to hear the best advice, I likewise knew that it would be profitable also to him who gives the best advice* (i.e., to me). For ἐβουλόμην ἄν, see II. 903; G. 1339. Most interpreters supply after εἰδέναι, as its object, τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπεῖν, with which συνοῖσιν agrees. Perhaps it should rather be τὸ ὑμᾶς τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν. The sense is the same in either case. — νῦν δ'. Cf. § 42, note. — ἐπ' . . . γενησομένοις, *in spite of the uncertainty as to the consequences to me of this course* (lit. *in the consequences, etc., being uncertain*). — ἐπὶ τῷ . . . πεπεισθαι, *in the conviction, etc.*

## VI.

## ANALYSIS.

Proemium: The uselessness of opposing Philip with words and not with deeds, §§ 1-5.

I. — *a.* Prothesis, § 6.

*b.* Philip favored the Thebans — and, in like manner, the Argives and Messenians — rather than the Athenians, because he believed the former would be more pliant to his plans, §§ 7-12;

*c.* not because he recognized in the cause of Thebes the cause of justice, § 13;

*d.* nor yet under compulsion, an explanation contradicted by his present attitude, §§ 14-16;

*e.* rather, the temper of Athens and the ambition of Philip are irreconcilable with one another, §§ 17-19.

II. — *a.* Substance of a former address of Demosthenes to the Messenians and Argives, warning them by the example of Olynthus and Thessaly against trusting Philip, §§ 20-25.

*b.* The neglect of these warnings by the Peloponnesians cannot be imitated by Athens with equal excuse; introduction of reply, §§ 26-28 to λέξω.

III. — *a.* The authors of the present peace ought to be called to account, that the penalty for coming disasters may be visited where it is deserved, §§ 28 from ἦν μὲν οὖν, -36;

*b.* which disasters may the gods yet avert, § 37.

1. — λόγοι γίνωνται, *speeches are made*. γίνεσθαι is often used as a passive to the middle ποιᾶσθαι. — περὶ . . . βιάζεται, *concerning what Philip is doing and forcibly carrying on*; or simply, *concerning Philip's violent acts*. I. 62. — τὴν εἰρήνην; the Peace of Philokrates. I. §§ 30 ff. — τοὺς . . . λόγους, *the patriotic speeches*, in contrast with the utter-



ances of Philip's partisans. — φιλανθρώπους, *kind*, i.e., expressive of sympathy with humiliated Greece. — φαινομένους = δοκοῦντας, *evidently are* — *are thought*. While φαίνασθαι with an inf. is used like δοκίω to denote an appearance which may be illusory, with a supplementary participle or pred. adj. it denotes the manifestation of a fact. Cf. II. 986. — λέγειν μὲν τὰ δέοντα — γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν τῶν δέοντων. Notice the contrast. — ὥς ἔπος εἶπεν, *I might almost say*, or, *almost*. II. 956; G. 1534. The common use of the phrase is to soften a preceding, or, less often, a following πρὸς or οὐκεί. Cf. IX, 47. — ὧν — τούτων ὧν. *By the things for whose sake it is worth while to listen to these speeches (ταῦτα)* D. means *practical results*.

2. — μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον, *better and more plainly*. — τὸ — συμβουλεύσαι. The article is separated from its inf., as in IV, 51, τῇ — πεπεῖσθαι.

3. — αἴτιον . . . ὅτι, *and the reason for this is that*. — πάντες: distributed below into ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες and ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι. — δέον. II. 793; G. 1509. — οἱ παριόντες. I. 60. — τούτων refers to ἔργῳ καὶ πράξει. The infinitives γράφειν and συμβουλεύειν are in apposition with τούτων, and specify the actions which are the duty of orators. — γράφειν. I. 60. — τὴν . . . ἀπέχθειαν, *unpopularity with you*. In the proper connection the same words might mean, *hatred towards you*. — οἷα . . . διερχόμεθα, *but we rehearse what he is doing, what dangerous and intolerable things*. The position of δέ makes ποῶ emphatic. It often has for this purpose the third or fourth place in a clause. ταῦτα is an emphatic repetition of οἷα . . . χαλεπὰ. — ἔπειθ. Cf. IV, 3, ἔπειτα, note. — ὥς μὲν . . . παρεσκεύασθε (lit. *how you might speak . . . you are better provided*), *you are better equipped than Philip for speaking*, etc. Similarly the following clause: *but to proceed . . . you are wholly inefficient*. Cf. M. 329, 2.

4. — συμβαίνει . . . λόγοι, *There results, therefore, a state of things, necessary, I think, and, I may say (ἔως), deserved: you are each better off in those things on which you each spend time and pains, be in actions, but you in words*. After ταῦτα, which is nom., as appears from αἱ πράξεις and οἱ λόγοι, supply συμβαίνει from the beginning of the sentence. Or, perhaps better, the words πρᾶγμα . . . ἀκόσ may be taken as parenthetical, πρᾶγμα being in apposition with the sentence, συμβαίνει ταῦτα ἀμεινον ἔχειν. — λέγειν δικαιότερα, *to make juster speeches than Philip could make*.

5. — καὶ μὴ . . . ἡμᾶς, *and that they may not sink* (lit. *proceed*) *still further, unnoticed by us all*. II. 984; G. 1586. — μηδ' . . . δυνάμεως, *nor a great power rise against us*. With μεγάλῃς δυνάμεως, cf. Cas. B.

Civ., 1, 64, tanta magnitudo fluminis. — **τρόπος** : sc. ἔστι. — **ὅσπερ** : sc. ἦν. — **τῶν ῥάστων . . . ἡδίστων** : dependent upon the prep. in προαιρετέον. — The foregoing proœmium is hardly appropriate to the oration which follows ; for whereas the proœmium insists upon the necessity for active measures instead of words, no active measures are recommended in the oration.

6. — **Πρῶτον μὲν**. The division of topics here begun is lost sight of, and the expected *ἔπειτα* nowhere follows. — **θαρρεῖ**, feels no alarm. — **ἀκοῦσαι διὰ βραχέων**, to hear briefly : a condensed expression for, to hear me state briefly. — **δί' οὗς** — **δί' ὧν**. With the acc. διὰ denotes cause, with the gen., instrument. In this passage the distinction is inappreciable. — **τάναντία . . . προσδοκᾶν**, I have been led (lit. it has occurred to me) to expect the contrary. — **προσθήσεσθε** : a case of anacoluthon. In place of a subj. dependent upon ἵνα, an independent fut. indic. is substituted.

7. **λογίζομαι**, reason or argue as follows. — **Πυλῶν κ.τ.λ.** I. 35, 36. — **τί δὴ ποτε**. Cf. IV, 35, note. — **πρὸς πλεονεξίαν . . . ἐξετάζων**, estimating his calculations by reference to self-aggrandizement and the bringing everything under his own control ; or, as it is meant that he adopted or rejected plans according as they did or did not conform to his standard, we may freely translate, choosing his course by reference to, etc.

8. — **οὐδὲν . . . ποιήσειεν**, could not promise nor perform anything of such importance. — **ὑφ' οὗ**, that by it. M. 575 end ; G. 1445 ; II. 910. — **τινᾶς**. In the Ionic dialect the indef. pronoun often stands between the genitive of the article and its noun (e.g., τῶν τις Ἑλλήνων) ; in Attic this position is allowed only when an attributive word follows the article, as here, ἄλλων. — **προεῖσθε**. aor. opt. The force of the preceding *ἄν* continues in the rel. clause. — **λόγον ποιούμενοι**, having regard. — **τὴν . . . πράγματι**. These words might also be arranged τὴν τῷ πράγματι προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν, or τὴν προσοῦσαν τῷ πράγματι ἀδοξίαν, or τὴν τῷ πράγματι ἀδοξίαν προσοῦσαν (II. 667 a), but of these arrangements the first would occasion the concurrence of three short syllables (-ματι προσ-), while the second and third would occasion a hiatus (-ματι ἀδο-). See I. 61. — **ὁμοίως** — **ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ**, just as if. There is an ellipsis of ἐναντιωθελήτε after ὥσπερ ἂν. II. 905, 3 ; G. 1313. — **τι τοιοῦτον**, any such thing as the subjugation of any Hellenic community, implied in line 7.

9. — **ὅπερ συνέβη** (lit. which happened), as proved to be the case. — **ἀντὶ . . . γιγνομένων**, in return for their own gains. — **οὐχ ὅπως**, not only not. οὐχ ὅτι (or ὅπως), μὴ ὅτι (or ὅπως), elliptical for οὐ λέγω ὅτι,

μὴ λεγέτω τις ὅτι, set aside a statement either as unimportant (= not to speak of the fact that) or untrue (= far from saying that). In the former case they are to be translated *not only*, in the latter, *not only not*. — Μεσσηνίους — Ἀργείους. I. 38. — ταῦτὰ ὑπειληφώς, *because he entertained the same opinions* of them as of the Thebans. — καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, *eulogy upon you*. This use of κατὰ with the genitive in a sense the reverse of hostile is not common.

10. — κέκρισθε — ἄν — πρόσθαι, *you have been judged that you would betray*; or, idiomatically, *the judgment has been expressed that you*, etc. — κέρδους: gen. of value. Similarly χάριτος and ὠφελείας, below. — τὰ κοινὰ . . . Ἑλλήνων: i.e., the right to freedom. — ὥς ἑτέρως (lit. *how otherwise!*), *quite otherwise*. Similarly ὥς ἄλλως, below, § 32; IV, 27, ὥς ἀληθῶς.

11. — ἐξόν. Cf. § 3, δέον, note. — ὥστ' . . . ὑπακούειν. II. 953 b; G. 1453. — βασιλεῖ. II. 960 c. — Ἀλέξανδρος. Alexander I of Macedonia was despatched by Mardonius shortly before the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.) to offer to Athens friendship and increase of territory, on condition of her joining the Persian alliance. The Athenians rejected these overtures, and were obliged to take refuge a second time in Salamis, while their city was occupied by the Persians. It looks as if Demosthenes, in the words τὴν χώραν . . . προελομένους, had in mind the first as well as the second abandonment of the city, and in πράξαντας . . . δεδύνηται, the battle of Salamis as well as that of Plataea. Accuracy in historical allusions is not a characteristic of the Greek orators. — ὁ τούτων πρόγονος. τούτων refers to the Macedonian royal family. — παθεῖν . . . ὑπομείναντας, *dared to endure any suffering*. For ὀτιοῦν, see IV, 19, ὀρτιοῦν, note. — λέγειν — εἰπεῖν. The word seems to be changed merely for the sake of variety, and the difference of tense to be unessential. λέγειν and εἰπεῖν are often thus joined. — ἢ ὥς . . . εἴποι, *than one could express in words* (lit. *by his speech*). ἢ ὥς after a comparative is usually followed by an infinitive. II. 954. — τοὺς μὲν — τοὺς δ': in partitive apposition with τοὺς προρόρους. The Thebans fought side by side with the Persians at Plataea; the Argives were prevented by hatred of Sparta from taking any part in the struggle.

12. — ἰδίᾳ modifies λυσitelοῦν. — ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιοις, *on just conditions*; i.e., on the condition of justice in the relations between himself and you. — διὰ ταῦτ': i.e., διὰ τὸ ἡγέσθαι κ.τ.λ. The plurals ταῦτα, τὰδε, etc., are often thus used of single facts. — καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν. With this combination of adverbs the verb is regularly in the present, as here. τότε refers to the time of the conclusion of the Peace, or

immediately after. — οὐ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The argument is: No explanation can be given why Philip should prefer the friendship of the Thebans and Argives to that of the Athenians, except his reliance on the subservience of the former to his own interests; for (1) their naval strength is nothing to that of Athens, nor (2) is it Philip's policy to gain an exclusively non-maritime power (in the building up of which Athens might reasonably be neglected), nor (3) has Philip forgotten his sworn obligations. This process of excluding other explanations than that assigned by the orator, is continued in §§ 13–15. See the Analysis. — οὐδ' ἐν . . . ἀφέστηκεν, *nor has he acquired some empire in the interior, but renounced that over the sea and the commercial ports*; or, the μέν-clause being here, as often, logically subordinate to the δέ-clause, we may translate: *nor has he, after acquiring some empire in the interior, renounced that over the sea and the commercial ports* (which would show an incomprehensible inconsistency and lack of ambition). μέν is inserted into the text, contrary to the reading of the Zürich edition, on the authority of most MSS. On τιν', see II. 703 a; cf. G. 1018.

13. — Ἄλλὰ νῆ Δί', *But by Heaven*. Cf. IV, 10, νῆ Δί', note. — ὥς . . . εἰδώς, *pretending to understand all these matters*. II. 978; G. 1574. — ὦν = τοῦτων ᾶ. — τῷ . . . ἀξιοῦν, *on account of the fact that the Thebans made juster requests than you*. The Thebans asked for Orchomenus, Koroneia, etc. I. 36. — ἀλλὰ . . . εἰπεῖν, *But of all arguments, this one it is preëminently* (lit. *even alone*) *impossible for him now to urge*. — Μεσσηνὴν . . . κελεύων. I. 38. Sparta, Demosthenes implies, had more right to Messene, than Thebes to Orchomenus and Koroneia. — τῷ . . . εἶναι = τῷ νομίζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι δίκαια.

14. — νῆ Δία. Cf. § 13. — τοῦτο, *this argument*. — παρὰ γνώμην, *contrary to his resolution*. — ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεῖς, *caught between*. I. 36. — καλῶς, *very good*; spoken ironically. — λογοποιοῦσι περιόντες. Cf. IV, 10, 48. — Ἐλάτειαν. The walls of this, as of the other Phokian towns, had been razed in 346. I. 36. It appears from the last sentence of § 15 that Philip's alleged intention in regard to the place was supposed to look toward the reëstablishment of the Phokian nation.

15. — μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει. D. repeats sarcastically the μέλλειν of the preceding sentence in a different sense; see L. & S. μέλλω I and III. *But these things he is going and will be going to do*; i.e., they belong and always will belong to the future, will never be realized. — συμβάλλειν appears to be used in the sense of *to lend aid*. Some translate, *to join battle for the Messenians and Argives against the Lacedæmonians*; but this hardly suits the context. — οὐ μέλλει, *is not*

going to, i.e., he is already doing it. — ξένους . . . προσδόκιμος. I. 38. — τοὺς μὲν ὄντας: contrasted with οἷς δ' ἀπώλεσεν. The asyndetic introduction of the sentence is emphatic. *Is he engaged in destroying the Lacedaemonians, the existing enemies of the Thebans, but trying now to save the Phokians, whom he himself formerly destroyed?* Or, as the μέν-clause is here logically subordinate to the δέ-clause (cf. § 12, and note), we may translate: *Is he, though engaged, etc., trying now, etc.* The absurdity of supposing that he is doing anything for the Phokians, enemies of Thebes, is implied by the two facts, Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναίρει, and οἷς ἀπώλεσεν αὐτός. But is the argument a cogent one?

16. — *And who could believe these things* (the statements in § 14)? Impossible! *for I, for my part* (cf. IV. 19, ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, and note) *do not even suppose* (not to speak of believing, referring to the preceding πιστεύειν) *that Philip, either if he had at first acted under compulsion (and) against his will, or if he were now abandoning the Thebans, would be maintaining a constant opposition to their enemies* (i.e., the Lacedaemonians). The argument, if stated syllogistically, would have the form: If either *a* or *b* were true, *c* would not be true; but *c* is true; therefore neither *a* nor *b* is true. ἄν in l. 14 (repeated in l. 15; cf. IV. 1, note) belongs with ἐναρτιοῦσθαι. II. 964 b; G. 1308. — ἐκ . . . συντάττων, *But from all his actions, if one takes the right view of them, it appears that he is busy contriving all his schemes against the city.* A better sense, however, is given by substituting the conjectural reading πάνθ' ᾧ for πάντα. This would require a comma instead of a period after ποιήσας, and would make συντάττων a second supplementary participle after δηλὸς ἐστι.

17. — τοῦτο, *this* direction of all his plans against Athens. — τρόπον τιν', *in some sort*. — νῦν γε δὴ, *now at least*, when his unjust treatment of Athens has become so evident. — ἀδικεῖ, *has been acting unjustly*. Cf. IV, 24, στρατεύεται, note. — οἷς. II. 994, 996 b; G. 1031. — Ἀμφίπολιν — Ποτίδαιαν. I. 15, 17. — προείπο: aor. indic. The conclusion is ἄν ἡγήετο. Notice the difference of tense. II. 895; G. 1397.

18. — ἀμφοτέρα: explained by καὶ ἑαυτὸν . . . αἰσθανομένους. II. 626 b — ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλευόντα. The usual construction would be αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύων (II. 980), but the acc. is here used for the sake of parallelism with ὑμᾶς αἰστανομένους. — εὖ . . . νομίζοι, *and since (or if) he supposes that you have common sense, he would be justified in thinking that you hate him.* The implication is that any other feeling toward Philip would be a sign of imbecility. For ἄν νομίζοι, see G. 1328. — φθάσῃ ποιήσας. L. & S. φθάνω III. 1, end; II. 984; G. 1586. The addition of πρότερος



is pleonastic. Cf. IV, 14. *μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε*. — *ἐφέστηκεν*, *he stands threateningly by*. The following ἐπὶ is used in the same hostile sense. — τοὺς . . . τούτοις (lit. *those who wish the same things with them*), *those who belong to the same party with them* (i.e., with the Thebans). For τούτοις dependent upon ταῦτα, see II. 773 a; G. 1175.

19. — σκαιότητα τρόπων, *stupidity of character*. In the case of the Boeotians, stupidity was proverbial. — τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' (lit. *of the things after these*), *of the consequences*. — σωφρονοῦσί γε καὶ μετρίως, *to men who have even a moderate degree of sober sense*. The word σωφρονοῦσι means at once *moderate in desires*, as opposed to πλεονεξία, and *sensible*, as opposed to σκαιότης τρόπων. — παραδείγματα, *warnings*. — ἄ . . . συνέβη. I. 38. — εἰρήσθαι. Cf. IV, 19. δεόχθαι — παρσκευάσθαι, and note.

20. — Πῶς . . . Ὀλυνθίους, *I said, namely, With what vocation do you think, men of Messene, that the Olynthians used to listen*. γάρ probably does not belong to the original question, but serves to introduce the quotation. L. & S. γάρ II. For ἀκούειν, as also προσδοκᾶν in this section and § 22, cf. IV, 23. τρέφειν — συστρατεῖσθαι, and note. — εἰ . . . λέγοι. II. 894. 2; G. 1393. 2. — Ἀνθεμῶντα — Ποτίδαιαν. I. 17. — τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, *our hostility*. Cf. § 3, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν — ἀνῆρητο — ἐδεδώκει. These pluperfects, denoting completed actions, refer to the time immediately succeeding that to which the preceding imperfect refers. *And so was himself the bearer*, etc. — τοιαῦτα : i.e., such things as they now are suffering. — λέγοντος . . . πιστεῦσαι. This is the dependent form of the sentence, λέγοντός τινος (gen. abs. expressing condition) ἐπίστευσαν ἄν. For the position of ἄν, which belongs to the verb, see H. 862; G. 1311.

21. — τὴν ἀλλοτριάν : sc. χώραν. II. 621 c; G. 953. — πολὺν : sc. χρόνον. D. hopes to see Philip's power broken and Olynthus restored. Hence he says, *for a long time*, and not, *for ever*. — ἐκπесόντες, *expelled*. I. 29. — οὐ γὰρ . . . ὁμιλίας, *for these too close connections with tyrants are not safe for republics*. For λίαν and αὐταί, cf. IV, 17, ἐξαίφνης and ταύτας, with note.

22. — τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί, *And how about the Thessalians?* II. 612. — τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε. I. 20. — πάλιν : for πάλιν ὅτε. — Νίκαιαν — Μαγνησίαν. I. 36. — δεκαδαρχίαν. See I. 37. Another interpretation is that Philip established in each city of Thessaly a dekadarchy, like those created earlier by Sparta (I. 1), but this does not seem consistent with the use of the singular in our passage. — Ἰνυλαίαν. I. 36. — τοῦτον . . . παραιρήσεσθαι. I. 37. — οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, *this is impossible*; i.e., they certainly did not expect these results.



23. — ὅσα τοιαῦτα = ὅσα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα.

24. — δαπάνης προσδεῖται, *require expense besides*. τοῖς πλήθεσι, *to peoples, popular governments*. οὐδέν . . . πάθητε. Cf. IV, 44, οὐδέποτ' . . . δεόντων, note.

25. — εἴτ' . . . ἔχοντα: *Do you then not see that Philip has even his titles thoroughly incompatible with this?* or, idiomatically, *that Philip's very titles are thoroughly, etc.* — πολέμου. The war between Messene and Sparta is meant.

26. — θορυβοῦντες . . . λέγεται, *clamoring that they were rightly spoken, declaring with applause their approval*. — πρέσβων: D.'s colleagues on the embassy. Why D. separated from them (as is implied in πάλιν ὕστερον) is not known; perhaps to visit other Peloponnesian states. — παρόντος ἐμοῦ: gen. absol. — ὥς ἔοικεν: *to be joined with what follows*. The adhesion of the Messenians to Philip appeared from the embassy just arrived. I. 39. — οὐδέν μᾶλλον (lit. *no more*), *nevertheless not*. — ἄτοπον, εἰ. Cf. IV, 43, θαυμάζω — εἰ, with note. — παρ' ἃ . . . ὀρώσι, *contrary to what they perceive by their reason to be best*. For the omission of ὅρτα after ὀρώσι, cf. IV, 18, εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς, with note. — ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς. Instead of continuing, *But this is strange, that you seeing the better, should follow the worse*, the orator substitutes an express and gloomy prophecy. Cf. § 6, προσθήσεσθε.

27. — περιτεχιζέσθε. — The commoner reading is περιστοιχιζέσθε, which is more appropriate. The word repeats in the form of a metaphor the meaning of ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, *you are plotted against*. I. 62. — ὥστε . . . ποιῆσαι, *on condition of doing nothing at once*. See § 11, ὥστ', with note. The reading ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιῆσαι (or ποιῶν), which is well supported, gives better sense.

28. — πρακτέων. Oblique cases of the verbal adjective in τέος are very uncommon. — καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, *by yourselves*; i.e., after the withdrawal of the envoys from the assembly. I. 39. The phrase is to be joined with βουλευέσθε. — ἃ . . . λέξω, *but the answer, by making which now, you would have voted what you ought, this I will read*; or freely, *but the answer which you should at once vote, I will read*. After λέξω most editions insert, without MS. authority, the lemma or heading, ΑἰΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ. It may be, however, that the answer proposed by D. was not read till the conclusion of the speech. — ἦν . . . δίκαιον. II. 834; G. 1400. The μὲν here, as often when thus conjoined with ὅν, has no following correlative. — τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας κ.τ.λ. I. 31, at the beginning. — καλεῖν, *to summon*, for the purpose, apparently, of calling them to account for their conduct. Cf. L. & S. καλέω I, 4.

29. — *πρεσβεύειν*. I. 31. — *οἷδ' ὅτι*, *certainly*. II. 1049 a. The phrase came to be used as a mere adverb, as appears from it's often being placed in the middle or even at the end of a sentence. — *καὶ . . . καλεῖν*, *Yes, and again we ought to summon others*. — *τοὺς . . . λέγοντας*, *Those who, when I, etc. — said*. — Eschines and Philokrates are meant. I. 35. The article and its participle are seldom so widely separated as here. — *τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους*, *the one sent to receive the oaths of Philip and his allies*. I. 33. — *διεμαρτυρόμην*, *protested*. — *οὐκ εἶων*, *tried to prevent*. *οὐκ εἰώ* is used almost like a compound, in the sense *to prevent*. For the tense, see H. 832; G. 1255.

30. — *ὥς . . . ἄνθρωπος*, *that I, being a water-drinker, was naturally an ill-tempered and crabbed sort of man*. For *τις*, see II. 702 a; L. & S. *τις* Λ, 8. — *ἐὰν παρέλθῃ*: see *εἴσω Πυλῶν*. See L. & S. *πατέρχομαι* III, 2. — *τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι*, *at his own expense*. — *διορύξει*. A canal cutting off the Chersonesus from the mainland would have been a safeguard against the attacks of Thracian tribes. — *οἷδ' ὅτι*. See § 29, note. — *οὐ δεινοὶ* — *μεμνήσθαι*, *not good at remembering*. D. sneers at the readiness of the Athenians to forget injuries.

31. — *τὸ . . . αἰσχιστον* in apposition with the following sentence. II. 626 a and b; G. 915. — *τοῖς ἐκγόνοις . . . ἐψηφίσασθε*. I. 35, near the end. — *πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας*, *conformably to your hopes*; i.e., not waiting for any experience of the benefits of the peace, but relying on the hopes excited by Philip. The phrase is to be joined with *ἐψηφίσασθε*. — *οὕτω . . . ὑπήχθητε*, *so completely were you taken in*. — *δεῖν* used with the sense of an imperfect. Cf. § 28, *ἦν δίκαιον*.

32. — *οὐχ . . . ποιήσω*, *Not that, lapsing into invective, I may for myself gain a hearing with you in like manner (ἐξ ἑσού) with them*. D. implies that his opponents secure attention by the abusiveness of their language in regard to himself and his party, and says that it is not for the sake of requiting them in kind that he wishes them to be called to account. *ἐμαντῶ λόγον ποιεῖν* = *λόγου τυγχάνειν*, while *λόγους ποιεῖσθαι* = *λέγειν*. — *ἐξ ἀρχῆς*, *at first*: i.e., at the beginning of the peace negotiations. The phrase limits *προσक्रούσασιν*. — *ὥς ἄλλως*, *to no purpose*. Cf. § 10, *ὥς ἐτέρως*, note. — *τὰ νυνί* (= *νυνί*): contrasted with *ποτε*.

33. — *καὶ οὐχὶ . . . φοβοῦμαι δέ*, *and though I (lit. should not wish to judge rightly) hope I may be mistaken, yet I fear*. — *τοῦτ'* refers to the calamity prophesied at the end of § 32. — *ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία*. II. 952; G. 1521. — *τοῦ δεινός*. Cf. IV, 19, *τὸν δεινά*, note.

34. — *ἐφ' οἷς*, the objects *for which*. — *δεδωροδοκηκόσι*. II. 982 a; G. 1590; also I. 31. — *τῶν . . . ἀπολωλότων* (gen. part. depending on

τι) : of the losses occasioned by them. — ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, for the most part, generally. — ἐνίοις. D. means the Athenians. — τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα, those who come first to hand.

35. — μέλλει . . . πράγματα, events belong to the future and are taking shape. — τίς . . . προσέσθαι = τίς ἔσται ὁ πείσας καὶ πείσας ὑμᾶς προσέσθαι Φωκίας καὶ Ἠύλας. Aeschines is meant. I. 35. — ἐπὶ — εἰς. The preposition is changed for variety merely. So below, περὶ — ὑπὲρ. — τῶν δικαίων, your rights, as determined by the Peace. — ὅς . . . ἡμέρα, which will afflict each man when it comes, but which began on that day. γέγονε has the strict use of the perfect (= has begun), and thus differs from an aorist, which would be used of an event that came into being and passed away; but being coupled, according to a Greek idiom, with an adverbial expression referring to the time of beginning, it is best rendered by the English simple preterite. Cf. Dem. xxxviii, 8, πάντα ταῦτα ἐφαῖται τότε; Plato, Krito, 44, A, ἐκ τινος ἐνυπνίου ὃ ἑώρακα ὀλίγον πρότερον; also the commoner combination of the present with the adverb πάλαι. D. means to say that a war for the possession of Attic territory is already virtually begun; it dates from the day when Aeschines persuaded the people to abandon Phokis and Thermopylae.

36. — πρᾶγμα, trouble. — ναυσὶ κρατήσας, having conquered at sea Philip's navy was still small, compared with that of Athens. Cf. IV, 22, note. — Φωκίας = τὴν Φωκίαν. — ὁμοίῳ . . . ὄν, a war like that on account of which. The Greek uses relatives (οἷος, ὅσπερ, ὅς) after ὅτος, ὁμοῖος, παραμοῖος, παραπλήσιος, in the same way as after τοιούτος.

37. — ταῦτ' . . . θεοί, For admonishing you then of these things enough has now been said, but that they should ever be put to stringent test (i.e., that the truth of my words should be proved by experience), may it not happen, all ye gods! ὡς is used with ὑπομνήσαι to express purpose. G. 1456. The second ὡς is relative. M. 330. 2. — δίκαιος. L. & S. δίκαιος C.

## IX.

## ANALYSIS.

## I. — PROCEMIUM, §§ 1-5.

a. In spite of incessant talking, affairs are at the worst possible pass, § 1

b. This is chiefly the fault of Athenian statesmen, § 2.

c. A plea for plain-speaking, §§ 3, 4.

d. Encouragement may be drawn from the most disgraceful feature of the political situation, § 5.

## II. — IS PHILIP OBSERVING THE PEACE? §§ 8-20.

a. Prothesis, §§ 8, 9.

b. Philip's policy of deferring to the last moment the formal announcement of hostile intentions, illustrated by his dealings with Olynthus, Phokis, Phæræ, and Oreos, is, *à fortiori*, to be expected in the case of Athens, §§ 10-14.

c. Specific proofs that Philip has violated both the spirit and the letter of the treaty, §§ 15-20.

## III. — THE UNIVERSAL DANGER AND INDIFFERENCE, §§ 21-46.

a. Philip is permitted to exercise in Greece an authority which was never permitted to any Greek state, §§ 21-25.

b. A catalogue of injuries inflicted by him upon Greece, §§ 26, 27.

c. Against these injuries there is no common resentment or resistance, §§ 28-33.

d. Nay, even personal wrongs are tamely submitted to, §§ 34, 35.

e. This shameful apathy is due to the corruption now prevalent in public men, and the degeneracy of sentiment in regard to such corruption, §§ 36-46.

## IV. — THE DUTIES OF ATHENS, §§ 47-76.

a. In view of the effective innovations introduced by Philip into the methods of warfare, Athens must keep the war as far as possible from Attic soil, §§ 47-52.

b. The necessity of withstanding the philippizing party at home illustrated by the cases of Olynthus, Eretria, and Oreos, §§ 53-62.

c. The root of the evil is the general reluctance to face disagreeable facts, §§ 63, 64.

d. To yield to Philip can bring nothing but misery, §§ 65-67.

e. While there is yet time, Athens must strain every nerve to bring about a general alliance against Philip, taking herself the lead in opposing him, §§ 68-75.

f. Peroration, § 76.

1. — γιγνομένων. See VI, 1, γίγνωνται, note. — ὀλίγου δεῖν. H. 956; G. 1534. — περὶ . . . ἀδικεῖ, concerning the wrongs which Philip has been committing, etc. On ἀδικεῖ, see IV, 23, στρατεύεται, note. — ἀφ' οὗ. H. 999 b. — τὴν εἰρήνην. I. 30 ff. — καὶ πάντων . . . ὅπως, and while all would certainly say, though they do not carry this out in deed, that it is needful to speak and to act in such manner that. For οἶδ' ὅτι, see VI, 29, note. φησάντων and ποιοῦσι are contrasted, and τοῦτο refers to λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως κ.τ.λ. λέγειν is used of speeches in the assembly. — ὑπηγμένα — καὶ προειμένα, drawn on and allowed to slide. — δέδοικα . . . ἦ, I fear lest it may be a harsh thing to say, and yet true; I fear that, though it is a hard saying, it is yet true. For the logical relation of the μέν-clause to the δέ-clause, cf. VI, 12, 15. The hard truth is expressed in the sentence, εἰ . . . διατεθῆναι, which, being explanatory, is asyndetic. — εἰ καὶ — καὶ, if both — and. — οἱ

παριόντες. I. 60. — ἐξ ὧν . . . ἔξειν, *measures in consequence of which affairs were likely to be in the worst possible condition*. ἐμᾶλλε is assimilated in tense to ἐμώλυντο. Cf. IV. 2, προσῆκε, note. — ἄν — δύνασθαι. II. 964 b, G. 1308. — διατεθῆναι: how different from διακείσθαι in meaning?

2. — παρ'. See IV, 11, note. — εὐρήσετε: *sc. ἀφεγμένα*. — ἐν οἷς . . . φυλάττοντες, *engaged in maintaining the conditions under which they themselves enjoy distinction and power*. — τοὺς . . . ὄντας, *those who are at the head of affairs; the same class as that referred to by τινὲς above*. — οὐδὲν ἔσται, *aim at nothing else than that the city may inflict punishment on itself (i.e., on its own citizens, τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντων) and be engaged in this task*.

3. — πολιτεῖται, *political methods*. — ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, *in other cases, everywhere else*; contrasted with ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμφουλεύειν below. — ξένοις = μετοίκους. — πολλοὺς κ.τ.λ. The comparatively unoppressive treatment of slaves in Athens is attested also by Xen. On the Athenian State, I, 12. — ἐνίαις. D. refers to oligarchical cities. — ἐκ . . . ἔξεληλάκατε, *but from the speeches of the assembly you have banished it (i.e., τὴν παρρησίαν) altogether*.

4. — εἰθ', *therefore*. — τρυφᾶν, *to be fastidious; or perhaps, to put on airs*. — τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις, *the interests of the State and the events of the day*. — οὕτω: *sc. ὥστε τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύσθαι*. — οὐκ . . . λέγω, *I know not what to say*. G. 1490; cf. II. 932. 1. — ἔτοιμος. See IV, 29, note.

5. — τὸ χεῖριστον . . . βελτίω: repeated with slight variations from IV, 2, which see. — νῦν δέ. See IV, 42, note. — οὐδ' ἥττησθε . . . κεκίνησθε, *nor have you been defeated; on the contrary, you have not even stirred*. There is an ambiguity, probably intentional, in the words, οὐδὲ κекίνησθε, which may mean either, *you have not even been dislodged from your position*, or, *you have not even bestirred yourselves*.

8. — ἴν' ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι, *to begin with this*. II. 883. — ταῦτα: i.e., ὅτι ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἧμῶν ἐστι τοῦτο. — ἕτερος, i.e., Philip. — ὑμῖν προβάλλει, *holds before you, cajoles you with*. — φάσκειν . . . διαφέρομαι, *But to your pretending to be at peace, as he does, if you prefer, I do not object*; i.e., I do not insist upon a formal renunciation of the peace, provided you will go as far as Philip in virtual violation of it.

9. — ταύτην εἰρήνην. II. 632 a. What shows that εἰρήνην is pred. acc.? — πρῶτον μὲν — ἔπειτα. See IV, 3, note. — ἐκείνῳ . . . λέγει. The phrases ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν and ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου are pred. modifiers of τὴν εἰρήνην, with which understand οὕσαν. The sentence therefore

= ἡ εἰρήνη ἣν λέγει ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐστίν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου, *the peace which he speaks of is observed on (lit. from) your side toward him, not on his side toward you.* Cf. II. 670 a and 618; G. 971, 972. — χρημάτων: gen. of price. The reference is to money spent in bribes. — αὐτὸς . . . πολεμεῖσθαι: explanatory of τοῦτο.

10. — μέχρι τούτου: explained by ἕως . . . πολεμεῖν. — οἷς. See VI, 17, οἷς, note.

11. — τοῦτο μὲν — τοῦτο δ'. II. 654 b; G. 1010. — Ὀλυνθίοις κ.τ.λ. I. 29. — δυοῖν θάτερον, *one of two things*; best omitted in translation. Cf. VI, 18, ἀμφοτέρα, note. — αὐτὸν: sc. μὴ οἰκεῖν. — πάντα . . . ἀπολογησομένους, *though always before, if any one brought any such accusation against him, he was indignant and sent ambassadors to make a counter-statement.* For the condition, εἰ αἰτιάσαιτο, see VI, 20, εἰ . . . λέγοι, note. As there the present infinitive, so here the present participles denote customary action in past time. II. 856 a; G. 1289. With verbs of sending, purpose is generally expressed by the fut. partic. without the article. But cf. § 71, and M. 826. — εἰς Φωκέας κ.τ.λ. I. 34, 35. — ἥριζον οἱ πολλοὶ, *the majority (deceived by Æschines and such men) contended.* — τὴν ἐκείνου πάροδον, *his entrance, i.e., into Central Greece by the pass of Thermopylae*; cf. VI, 30, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, note.

12. — Φεράς κ.τ.λ. I. 37. — ἔχει καταλαβών, *seized and holds.* G. 1262. — Ὁρείταις may depend upon either ἔφη or πεπομφέναι. I. 41. — ἐπισκεψομένους: the regular word for the payment of a visit by physician to patient. The insulting jest is kept up in νοσοῦσι. — πυνθάνεσθαι γάρ. A γάρ-clause in oratio obliqua regularly takes the mode of the leading verb of the quotation. Cf. M. 675, 1. — αὐτοὺς. Cf. II. 878. — ὥς . . . στασιάζουσιν, *that they were prostrated by party strifes.* I. 62.

13. — *Do you then suppose that toward those who could not have inflicted any injury, but could perhaps at most have saved themselves from suffering any, toward these, I say, he chose to act deceitfully, rather than to use force with fair warning, but that with you he will wage war by proclamation, and that too while you are willingly deceived?* On the relation of the μέν- and δέ-clauses, see VI, 12, last note. The argument is one *à fortiori*: by as much as Athens was more powerful than the states just mentioned, by so much did Philip have more motive in her case for concealing as long as possible his hostile designs. For αἶτ', see IV, 43, note; for μὴ, II. 1029, G. 1615; for καὶ ταῦθ', II. 612 a. Notice the double contrast between ἐποίησαν μὲν and μὴ παθεῖν δ', and between τούτους μὲν and ὑμῖν δ'.



14. — τῶν ἀδικουμένων . . . αὐτῷ, *while you, the injured party, make no complaint against him.* — ἐφ' αὐτὸν τρέπεσθαι, *to turn* (intransitive) *against himself.* — τῶν . . . μισθοφορούντων : i.e., Athenians like Eschines, in the pay of Philip. — ἀφέλοιτο, *should silence* (lit. *take away*).

15. — 'Ἄλλ' . . . ἄν ; *But oh, in Heaven's name, is there any one who, in his senses, would from names rather than from facts judge of the one at peace or at war with him ?* i.e., *judge whether one was at peace or at war with him ?* — ἐξ ἀρχῆς. See IV, 14, note. — οὐπω Διοπίθους . . . ἀπεσταλμένων. I. 45. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ and εἰν modify οὐτωρ. — ἐλάμβανε — ἐξέβαλλεν. Notice the tense. — τοὺς ἐκ Σ. . . στρατιώτας. II. 788 a ; G. 1225, 1. Cf. § 42, τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων. — στρατηγὸς : Chares. — εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει. γὰρ introduces the justification of the implication, — viz., *he was doing flagrant injustice*, — contained in the preceding question. μὲν has no expressed correlative, the antithetical clause — something like πόλεμον δὲ ἐποιεῖτο — being omitted. Cf. IV, 10, ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, note. In saying that Philip had given his oath at the time referred to, D. is guilty of a misrepresentation. See I. 33.

16. — τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, *But what do these things amount to ?* — εἰ μὲν . . . ἔμελεν, *for whether these things are trifling, or you did not care about them, that is* (lit. *would be*) *another question.* Forms of expression similar to this are of somewhat common occurrence, the εἰ-clause being sometimes, as here, dependently interrogative, and sometimes, as in Dem. xiii, 7, conditional. It is to be observed that the two interrogative clauses in our passage are not alternative or disjunctive ; ἢ = *vel*, not *an*. For the use of μηδέν, see H. 1022 a ; G. 1609. ἔμελεν refers to the time when the above-mentioned conquests were being made. On οὗτος, cf. § 9, ταύτην εἰρήνην, note. — τὸ δ' . . . δύναμιν, *but whether one violates religion and justice in a small or in a greater matter, it is all one ;* i.e., a small violation shows as well as a great one one's character and intentions. For the position of τὸ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, see IV, 29, τοῦτ' ἄν, note ; for ἄν τ' — ἄν τ', IV, 19, κἂν — κἂν, note. — φέρε δὴ, *well then.* — νῦν, an emphatic *now*, modifies ποιεῖ. — βασιλεὺς, *the king of Persia ;* cf. §§ 43. 47 ; VI, 11, note. — ἐγνώκασιν, *have decided.* There had probably been nothing more than a tacit admission of the Athenian claims to the Chersonese. — ξένους κ.τ.λ. I. 46. — ἐπιστέλλει, *announces by letter.*

17. — φῆς : addressed to some assumed defender of Philip's course ; indefinite second person. — ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ. The skeleton of the sentence is : ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω . . . ὁμολογεῖν . . . ὥστε . . . φημὶ, *but I am so far from admitting . . . that I affirm, etc.* D means that in his

view, Philip has violated the peace, not merely in this direct aggression upon Athens, but also in measures of interference in other states, affecting Athens only indirectly. The rigid construction here put upon Philip's obligations under the Peace is one to which Philip would never have assented. I. 37. — Μεγάρων . . . σκευωρούμενον. I. 40, 41, 43. 38. — τυραννίδα, *tyranny, government by tyrants*. Philip secured this form of government in two cities, Eretria and Oreos. — τὰ ἐν Π. σκευωρούμενον, *carrying on his Peloponnesian intrigues*. — ἕως ἄν — προσάγωσιν, *until they are bringing*. What different meaning would προσαγάγωσιν give?

18. — τίσιν οὖν κ.τ.λ., *By what facts, then, should you be imperiled, if anything should happen* (i.e., if war should break out between you and Philip)? *By the fact of the Hellespont's having passed into other hands*, etc. A dative with κινδυνεύειν regularly denotes the thing which is risked (e.g., κινδυνεύειν τῷ σώματι = *to risk one's person*), but here the datives must be taken as expressing cause. The idea is that all these extensions of Philip's power, if he is allowed to complete them, will put Athens in a sad predicament in the event of war. — τὰ κείνου φρονήσαι. L. & S. φρονέω II, 2, c. Notice the inceptive meaning of the aor. — φῶ. H. 866, 3; G. 1358. Gildersleeve and Lodge's Lat. Gram. 265.

19. — πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, *far from it*, a common formula with D., in which καὶ serves for emphasis. — ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας = ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧ. H. 994 a, 995 a; G. 1038. — ἀνείλε Φωκέας. I. 36. — ὀρίζομαι, *I affirm*. The word literally means *to bound or determine*, and hence is suitable for fixing the date of beginning of an action. — τοῦθ' — ποιῆσαι: i.e., ἀμύνεσθαι. — καὶ — γε, *Yes, and*. Cf. VI, 29. καὶ πάλιν γ'. — τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συμβουλευόντων = τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων. When οἱ ἄλλοι is joined with an attributive participle, the article is used twice. — οὐδὲ . . . Βυζαντίου, *it does not even seem good to me to deliberate now about the Chersonese nor Byzantium*; i.e., I do not approve of treating the Chersonese or Byzantium as the main subject of consideration. I. 46.

20. — ἄλλ . . . Ἑλλήνων, *but, while defending them* (i.e., Chersonites and Byzantines) *and watching to prevent anything from happening to them* (cf. IV, 11, ἄν τι πάθῃ, note), *to deliberate about all the Greeks*. For the logical relation of the μέν- and μέντοι-clauses, see VI, 12, last note. — ἐξ ὧν, *on what grounds*. — πρόνοιαν . . . ποιήσῃσθε, *may take some thought for yourselves, at any rate, unless perhaps you will for others as well*. For εἰ μὴ ἄρα (= nisi forte), see L. & S. ἄρα B. 6. — ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι, *to be a vain babbler*. — προσέχητε, *may give heed*. L. & S. προσέχω 4, a.

21. — μέγας: proleptic. Cf. IV, 8, ἀτακτα, note. — ἐκ . . . ἀρχᾶς, *from being insignificant and contemptible at the outset*. The phrase τὸ κατ' ἀρχᾶς is an adverbial accusative. — αὐτοὺς = ἀλλήλους. Cf. IV, 10, αὐτῶν, note. — ἐξ ἐκείνου: i.e., ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ. — ἥ νῦν . . . ποιήσασθαι, *than for him now, when he has already made so many acquisitions, to get under his heel what remains also*. On ποιήσασθαι, see II, 851; G. 1272.

22. — ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, *beginning from you, with you at the head*. — ὑπὲρ οὗ = τοῦτο ὑπὲρ οὗ. — τὸν . . . χρόνον. Cf. § 11, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον. — καθ' ἕνα. Cf. IV, 20, καθ' ἕκαστον, note. — οὕτως. Cf. IV, 11, οὕτω.

23. — On the Athenian, Spartan, and Theban Hegemonies, see I, 1-5. — οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ. II, 743 b, end; G. 1116 (a).

24. — ἀλλὰ . . . πολεμεῖν, *but, on the one hand, against you, or rather the Athenians of that time, when they seemed to conduct themselves without due moderation toward some, all, even those who could bring no accusation against them, thought they ought to join with those unjustly treated in making war*. — καὶ πάλιν: used instead of τοῦτο δέ, to correspond to τοῦτο μὲν. — Λακεδαιμονίοις depends upon εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, which = ἐπολέμησαν. — ἄρξασι: inceptive. — τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, *the same sovereignty with you; i.e., the same which you previously had*. For ὑμῖν, see VI, 18, last note. — τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίνουν, *were disturbing the established institutions or governments*. I, 1.

25. — καὶ τί . . . ἀλλ': a favorite form of expression with D.; cf. § 59. The meaning is that the example of Athens and Sparta is of so much more importance than that of other states that it is not worth while to linger on the latter. The first half of § 24 refers to the Peloponnesian War; the second half to the Boeotian War, and possibly also to the Corinthian; the first part of § 25 to both, or all three. According, therefore, to D., the opposition of Sparta and Athens in the first of these wars was due to the desire of the former to redress wrongs committed by the latter against other states; in the other or others, to the reverse state of things. This is, of course, a highly rhetorical version of history. — ἂν ἔχοντες = εἰ καὶ ἂν εἴχομεν, *although we should have been able* (if asked). II, 987 b; G. 1308. — ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Cf. § 15. — ὑπὲρ ὧν = ὑπὲρ τούτων ᾧ. — τριάκοντ' — ἐβδομήκοντα: convenient round numbers, instead of 29 and 73; cf. § 23. — ἐκείνοις. See IV, 17, ταύτας, note. — τρισὶ . . . ἔτεσιν, *thirteen incomplete years, less than thirteen years*. Why D. should date Philip's injustice from the year 354-3 rather than from the beginning of his reign, is not very clear. — οἷς = ἐν οἷς. In a relative clause which has the value of an

attributive adjective, a preposition common to both demonstrative and relative clauses is not usually repeated; cf. § 61. *ὁπόσης*. — *μᾶλλον δέ*: cf. § 24. — *πέμπτων μέρος*. In public suits (*δίκαι δημόσιαι*) the prosecutor who did not win a fifth of the votes of the *dikasts* was subjected to certain penalties. *πέμπτων μέρος* was, therefore, a legal phrase of common occurrence and much importance, and it may have passed into common life as an expression for a small part, like our *tithe*. This, however, is mere conjecture.

26. — "Ὀλυνθον κ.τ.λ. I. 29. The Methone here referred to is usually supposed to have been situated on the Chalkidian peninsula. — *ἐπὶ Θράκης*, on the borders of Thrace, i.e., on the Chalkidian peninsula, for which *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης* is a standing designation. — *ὥστε . . . εἰπεῖν*, so that it is not easy for a visitor to say even whether they were ever inhabited. *προσελθόντ'* agrees with *τινα* understood. — *καὶ . . . σιωπῶ*, and I pass in silence over the extermination of the great (lit. so great) Phokian nation. — *πολιτείας*, constitutions. — *τετραρχίας*. I. 43. — *κατέστησεν*. II. 837; M. 58.

27. — For historical allusions, see I. 41, 46, 47, 42, 40. — *καὶ ταῦτα*, and this. Cf. § 13, *καὶ ταῦθ'*, note. Thebes and Athens hated tyrants; hence the force of this addition, *καὶ ταῦτα . . . Ἀθηνῶν*. — "ἐμοὶ . . . βουλομένους." By this language Philip implied that he regarded as enemies those who were *not* willing to obey (*ἀκούειν*) him. To this implication *ταῦτα* in the next sentence refers. — *καὶ οὐ . . . ποιεῖ*, And he does not (merely) write this, but fail to carry it out by his deeds; or, And he does not write this without executing it. The first *οὐ* negatives the whole expression, *γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ*. *ἦκεν*. See IV, 34, *ῥᾶτ'*, note. — *ἡ βάρβαρος*: sc. *γῆ* or *χώρα*. — *χωρεῖ*, is large enough for.

28. — *οὕτω . . . πόλεις*, but we are so wretchedly disposed and trenched apart city by city; such is our wretched condition of political disunion. I. 62. — *οὐδὲ οὐδὲ*, not even — nor even, different from *οὔτε — οὔτε*. H. 1043, 2, a. — *συστήναι*, to band together.

29. — *γινόμενον*. II. 982; G. 1585. — *τὸν χρόνον . . . ἐγνωκώς*, each one resolved to make capital out of that time in which another is being destroyed. Such were the mutual jealousies of the Greek states and their blindness to the common danger that each expected to profit by another's loss. — *ἐπεὶ* introduces the justification of the implication, contained in the words, *οὐχ ὅπως . . . πράττων*, that Greece is in danger. — *περίοδος . . . κακοῦ*. There seems to be here a mixture of similes. A *περίοδος πυρετοῦ* is a recurrence of an (intermittent) fever, and applies to the cases of those Greeks whom Philip had from

time to time attacked. Α καταβολή πνευτοῦ ἢ τινοῦ ἄλλου κακῆ is an *attack of fever or some other disease*, and this comparison suggests the spread of an epidemic. — τῷ . . . ἀφροστάναι — τῷ οὐκ ἀφροστάνει πᾶν πόρρω ἀφροστάναι. Account for D.'s arrangement of the words.

30. — ἴστε. Cf. IV, 12, ἴσθ', note. — ἀλλ' . . . λέγειν, *at any rate* (ἀλλ' οὐν — γὰρ) *they were wronged by men who were lawful sons of Hellas, and one would have to see this in the same way as, if a son, lawfully born to a large property, had been managing it not altogether well nor rightly, one would have held that, so far as that itself went, he was worthy of blame and denunciation, but that it was impossible to say that he was acting thus without belonging to the family, or without being heir to this property.* After ὥσπερ we supply ἐπέλαβε, on which εἶναι and ἐρεῖναι depend; cf. VI, 8, ὥσπερ ἔν εἰ, note. Notice that in both this and the following sentence the verbs of the conditions are in the imperfect to denote continued action, those of the conclusions in the aorist to denote momentary action. ἐπαίει is imperfect by attraction; cf. IV, 2, προσῆα, note. This effective comparison must not be interpreted too literally; Athens and Sparta had no rights of ownership which the other states recognized.

31. — ὑποβολιμαῖος. It was not uncommon in Greece for a childless wife to attempt to deceive her husband and others by taking another's infant and declaring it to be her own. See the references in L. & S. under ὑποβάλλω II, ὑποβολή 2, and ὑποβολιμαῖος. — ὑπὲρ — περὶ. Cf. IV, 1, ὑπὲρ ὧν, note. — οὐχ οὕτως. οὐχ repeats emphatically the οὐχ of the preceding line. — οὐ μόνον . . . Ἕλλησιν. D. consistently ignores the tradition which certified to the Hellenic lineage of the Macedonian kings (I. 11), and treats Philip as the representative of his people. Cf. Dem. iii, 16. — ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν (sc. εἶναι). *from those regions from which it is honorable to say that one comes, from a place which can be named with honor.* — ὀλέθρου. L. & S. ὀλεθρος II. — ὅθεν . . . πρότερον. For ὅθεν referring to Μακεδόνες, cf. II. 633 b. Probably the truth is that there had been few or no Macedonian slaves in Greece; which fact, honorable to the Macedonians, is ingeniously but falsely explained by D. as due to their worthlessness. Some, however, accept D.'s words literally.

32. — οὐ belongs with each of the following questions. — πρὸς . . . ἀνηρηκέναι, *in addition to having destroyed cities.* — τίθησι, *presides over.* I. 36. Philip was present at the celebration of the games in 346, but, as our passage indicates, sent in 342 as his representatives Macedonian nobles, whom, as subjects of a king, D. contemptuously calls his slaves (cf. § 43, "Ἀρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλέως").



33. — For historical allusions, see I. 43, 41. — τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐρετριέων. ὁ Ἐρετριέων δῆμος or ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων means *the Eretrian people*, in distinction from the people of any other city; ὁ δῆμος Ἐρετριέων means *the popular party in Eretria*, in distinction from the aristocratic party or the tyrants in the same city. Cf. II. 730 d. Thus, although in both cases δῆμος means *a commonalty, a mass having equal privileges*, the former expression is the one naturally used when the place is the thing of importance, or, in other words, when the emphasis falls on the genitive. — ταῦθ' is object of both ὀρώντες and θεωρεῖν. ὀρώντες. II. 983; G. 1580. — εὐχόμενοι . . . γενέσθαι, *each praying that it may not fall upon themselves*. The idea is that the Greeks regard Philip's movements as being, like a hail-storm, beyond the sphere of their own control, as something to avert which they have no resource but prayer.

34. — οὐ μόνον . . . ἀδικεῖται, *And not only does no one take vengeance upon him in view of the insolent treatment which Greece receives at his hands, but not even for the wrongs which each suffers himself*. Not only is there an absence of Panhellenic patriotism, but each state is too mean-spirited to redress even its own injuries. — τοῦτο . . . ἐστίν. τοῦσχατον is to be taken as subject, τοῦτο as predicate, the idea being, *for this is what the extreme, the climax of his insolence* (implied above, § 32, τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὑβρεως ἀπολείπει;) *now amounts to*, viz., that each individual is wronged, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται. — οὐ Κορινθίων κ.τ.λ. The possessive genitives stand, for emphasis, at the head of their respective clauses. For the allusions, see I. 42, 43, 47, 45. The words καὶ νῦν . . . ὄντας, which break the rhetorical symmetry of the passage, are regarded by some as spurious, or as belonging in § 33, after καταστήσοντας. With συμμάχους ὄντας, understand ἐαυτοῦ.

35. — βλέπομεν, *we look askance, or suspiciously*.

36. — λόγου, *a reason*. — ἐλευθέραν . . . ἡττᾶτο, *maintained Greece in freedom, and gave way to no battle on land or sea*; i.e., did not waver before the dangers and hardships of war. — νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς, *but which being now lost*; or, according to the English idiom, *but the loss of which now*. Cf. Madvig's Lat. Gram. 426. — ἄνω καὶ κάτω, *upside down*.

37. — Ἑλλάδα: dependent equally upon ἄρχειν and διαφθελεῖν, though taking the case required by the latter. — τιμωρία μεγίστη. The receipt of bribes, δωροδοκία, was punished, according to circumstances, by a fine of ten times the amount received, confiscation of property, atimia, or death. Although susceptibility to bribes was always a weak point in the Greek character, Demosthenes is probably right in representing



that in earlier times it had met with surer and severer punishment than in his own day. — τοῦτον: i.e., τὸν δωροδοκοῦντα ἐξελγχθέντα.

38. — τὸν . . . πραγμάτων, *The opportunity, therefore, for each deed.*

39. — ὥσπερ . . . ἐκπέπραται, *have been sold out of market, as it were*; the market is exhausted of these commodities. — ὕφ' . . . Ἑλλάς, *things through whose influence Greece is sick unto death* (lit. *is ruined and diseased*). — δῆλος . . . ἐπιτιμᾷ. The sense is: Nowadays, if a man has received a bribe, he is envied for his good fortune; if he unblushingly parades his guilt (as D. elsewhere accuses Philokrates of doing), it is treated as a joke; and if a rigid moralist here and there ventures to denounce the crime and the general indifference to it (τούτοις, neuter), he gets only ill-will for his pains. — ἥρτηται, *depend upon, follow from*.

40. — ἐπεὶ, *for*. The fact that in material resources the Greeks are better off now than in the time of the Persian Wars, is introduced as proof that present evils must be attributed to the moral causes just named. — χρημάτων may depend on either πλῆθος or ἀφθονία. — τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς: i.e., arms, engines of war, and the like. — ἅπασι, *all the Greeks*. — τῶν τότε = ἡ τοῖς τότε. II. 643 b; G. 1155.

41. — "Οτι . . . ἔχει, *But for proof that these things are so*. The clause is loosely prefixed, without grammatical dependence. — τὰ νῦν, *the present state of things*. — προσδεῖσθε, *need in addition* to the testimony of your own eyes. — τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις may be regarded as a nominative, in which case see for its position, IV, 29, τοῦτ' ἄν, note, or as an accusative, the object of δηλώσω, by prolepsis. — τάναντία = ἐναντίως. — ἃ . . . ἀκρόπολιν. Connect εἰς ἀκρόπολιν with κατέθεντο, εἰς στήλην with γράψαντες. For the omission of the article with ἀκρόπολιν, see H. 661.

42. — Ἀρθμιος. The case of Arthmius figures repeatedly in the Greek orators. It is used again by D. xix, 271, by Æschines iii, 258, and by Deinarchus ii, 24. It is also found in a passage of the rhetorician Aristides (xiii, 189), on which an extant scholium comments, and is mentioned by Plutarch (Themistokles, 6). As far as can be made out, the facts, as understood by the orators, were these: Arthmius, of Zeleia in Troas, was, at the time of Xerxes' invasion, a temporary resident of Athens, and had been honored by an appointment as Athenian proxenus. Being, however, discovered in an attempt to bribe the Spartans with Persian gold, he was driven from Athens and declared an outlaw, and the sentence was recorded by an inscription set up on the acropolis. — φησὶν: sc. τὰ γράμματα, *the inscription*. — ἄτιμος. In the other quotations of this inscription by Demosthenes

himself, by Æschines and by Deinarchus, this word, ἄτιμος, of which D. here makes so much, is not found. For its meaning, see below, § 44, note. — χρυσὸν here = χρυσίον. — τὸν ἐκ Μήδων. Cf. § 15, τοὺς ἐκ . . . στρατιώτας, note.

43. — τίς ποθ'. Cf. IV, 35, τί δὴ ποτε, note. — ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα, *or rather what their sense of dignity*. — δοῦλον βασιλέως. Cf. § 32, δούλους, note. — ἐχθρόν — ἀτίμους. Account for the change of number.

44. — The argument is as follows: The atimia to which Arthmius was condemned cannot have been that suspension from civil rights to which this name is ordinarily applied (see Dict. Antiq., ΑΤΙΜΙΑ); for this, to a mere metic, would have been no punishment at all. But there is another use of the word ἄτιμος, found in our ancient Drakonian laws respecting homicide, where it signifies an outlaw, whom any one may kill with impunity. This then must be the sense in which the word is used in the inscription. — ἦν . . . ἀτιμίαν, *what one would call atimia in the usual sense of the word; mere ordinary atimia*. Cf. L. & S. οὕτως IV. — τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελείῃ (sc. ᾧ), *For what mattered it to the Zeleian?* — τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν. τὰ κοινά signifies those rights which all citizens had in common. For the position of the phrase, see IV, 29, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, note. — ὑπὲρ . . . δικάσασθαι, *touching those for whom (if killed) it is not permitted to bring indictments for murder* (against those who killed them). ὑπὲρ ᾧν = ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ᾧν. Το διδῶ supply as subject ὁ νομοθέτης; *he does not permit*. For δικάσασθαι, see II. 816, 8. — “καὶ ἄτιμος,” φησί, “τεθνάτω.” According to D.’s interpretation the quoted words apply to one who may be slain with impunity. For the redundant use of φησί, see L. & S. φημί, II, 3, end. Its subject is ὁ νομοθέτης understood. — τοῦτο . . . εἶναι, *This, then, is the meaning* (of the inscription), *that the slayer of any one of them (Arthmius and his family) is free from blood-guiltiness*. As subject to λέγει, supply τὰ γράμματα. We might, it is true, understand ὁ νομοθέτης again as subject, and make τούτων refer to the persons contemplated in the quoted law; but this is less satisfactory, because, first, the sentence would then contain nothing which is not implied in the preceding sentence, and, secondly, the argument in regard to the meaning of the word ἄτιμος in the inscription would not then be brought to a distinct conclusion.

45. — εἰ . . . διαφθείρει. This is a dependent question (*εἰ* = *whether*); hence the use of the pres. indic. If the clause were felt to be a condition, what would be the form of the verbs? — μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν (dat. of participle) = εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπελάμβανον, *if they had not*

held this opinion. — αἰσθίνοντο : *sc. ὠνούμενους καὶ διαφθείροντας*. — τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Cf. IV, 12, τὰ τῆς τύχης, note.

46. — εἶπω. Cf. § 18, φῶ, note. If our text is correct, we may suppose that D. has in mind events like the recent acquittal of Æschines (I. 44), and that his questions are intended as suggestions of what he does not explicitly name. Then, after a pause, he turns in § 47 to the proofs of Philip's formidableness. For the common text, see the Appendix.

47. — εὐήθης λόγος, *silly saying*. — ὥς ἄρα, *that really*. The phrase is often used in quoting an opinion with which one does not agree. — οἱ . . . ἀπάσης : an exaggerated way of describing the Lacedæmonian Hegemony, which extended over most of the Greek world. — βασιλεία . . . εἶχον. I. 3. — ὑφίστατο . . . αὐτούς, *and nothing withstood them* ; or, idiomatically, *and whom nothing withstood*. II. 1005 ; G. 1040. — ἀπάντων . . . ἐπίδοσιν, *though almost everything has greatly improved*. For ὥς ἔπος εἶπεν, see VI, 1, note.

48. — ἀκούω. Cf. IV, 17, φασιν, note. In fact, D.'s description of the way in which the Peloponnesian War was carried on is in all probability obtained from Thucydides. — τέτταρας . . . πέντε. This is given by D. as the period within which incursions might be undertaken, but the estimate is considerably too short. Eight months would be nearer the truth. — τὴν ὥραίαν αὐτήν, *just during the summer-season*. — ἄν — ἀναχωρεῖν. II. 835, 964 ; G. 1296, 1308. — ὀπλίταις . . . στρατεύμασιν. II. 774 ; G. 1190. — οὕτω . . . πολιτικῶς, *and they were so old-fashioned, or rather, patriotic*. — οὐδὲ, *not even*, emphasizes, not χρημάτων alone, but the whole clause. — χρημάτων. Cf. VI, 10, κέρδους, note. — τινα. Cf. VI, 30, τις, note.

49. — ἀκούετε δέ. The Athenians are sarcastically represented as knowing nothing about Philip's methods of warfare except by hearsay. — βαδίζονθ' : supplementary participle to ἀκούετε. — ἀλλὰ τῷ . . . ἐξηρτηῆσθαι, *but by trailing at his heels, etc.* In the military system perfected by Philip, the phalanx of hoplites, armed with large round shields and long spears, constituted the "central body of the national forces. . . . Besides the phalanx, there existed as a separate division of the infantry, the species of troops called Hypaspistæ [here called by D. ψιλοί], who were probably more lightly armed and more loosely organized. . . . The mountaineers were after their fashion employed to strengthen the military force, serving as light-armed troops and bowmen. . . . Foreigners were used by Philip when they seemed to promise to be of advantage. . . . Special attention was devoted by him to the cavalry. At its head was the proper place of the king,

whose person was surrounded by a picked body of horsemen." Curtius, *Hist. Greece*, Vol. V. p. 50. Demosthenes may be here understood to mean that Philip's rapid marches were sometimes made without heavy-armed troops. — τοιοῦτον στρατόπεδον, an army, in a word, of this sort.

50. — ἐπὶ τούτοις, *hereupon*; or possibly the meaning may be, *at the head of these troops*. — νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς, *people suffering from domestic dissensions*. Cf. § 12. νοσοῦσι. — ἀπιστίαν, *distrust* felt by the citizens toward one another. — ἐξίη, *marches forth*. — μηχανήματ' . . . πολιορκεῖ. The art of siege underwent great improvement in Philip's hands. — καὶ σιωπῶ . . . διαφέρει, *And I pass over summer and winter, that it makes no difference*; or freely, *And I pass over the fact that it makes no difference to him whether it is summer or winter*. Cf. what is said above, § 48; also IV, 31. — ἣν διαλείπει, *which he omits, during which he rests*. There seems to be no reason for considering διαλείπω in this and similar phrases as intransitive, though this was the view of L. & S. (6th edition).

51. — μέντοι, *however*; i.e., although I do not enlarge upon them. — εὐήθειαν, *simplicity*; cf. § 48. — ἀλλ' ὥς . . . διαγωνίζεσθαι, *but as long as possible beforehand to secure yourselves by political measures and military preparations, intent upon preventing him from stirring from home, (and) not to engage with him in a close struggle*. ὥς strengthens πλείστον. οὐχὶ modifies δεῖ understood; cf. IV. 39, ὅτι δεῖ κ.τ.λ., where, however, the negative clause precedes. συμπλακέντας contains a metaphor from wrestling; see L. & S. συμπλέκω II, 2.

52. — ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν. Cf. IV. 34, ἄγων καὶ φέρων, note. — εἰς δὲ . . . ἥσκηται, *but for a wrestling-match he is in better training than we*. As distinguished from πόλεμος, which is here used of a war carried on at a distance, ἀγών means a struggle at close quarters, on Attic territory.

53. — οὐδὲ. The force of μόρον still continues; *and not only*. — τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, *with reason and purpose, with mind and soul*. — μισῆσαι: inceptive. — τοὺς: to be joined with ὑπηρετοῦντας.

54. — μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας. Cf. IV. 9, ἀσελγείας, note. — οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω, *I know not what to call it*. Cf. § 4. — μή τι . . . ἐλαύνῃ, *that some divinity is driving the state to ruin*. Goodwin (M. p. 134) conjectures ἐλαύνει for ἐλαύνῃ; but the pres. subj. after a verb of fearing sometimes does not differ appreciably from the pres. indic. in meaning; e.g., Soph. *Œd. R.* 747; Eur. *Medea* 317. — λοιδορίας . . . αἰτίας, *for abuse, envy, scoffing, or whatever reason it may be*. This use of τυγχάνω is to be explained as having grown out of an ellipsis of a

participle to be supplied from the principal sentence (here *κελεύοντες*), so that the literal translation would be, *for whatever cause you may happen to*. Cf. IV, 46, *ὅτι ἂν τέχνητε*. *ἔνεκα* is used here in two senses. With *φθόρου* and *αἰτίας* it means *because of*, with *λοιδορίας* and *σκώμματος*, *for the sake of*. D. often rebukes the Athenian fondness for listening to scurrility, to which in his legal, though not in his parliamentary orations, he sometimes himself panders. — *ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ*. Just as an infinitive after a verb of negative meaning commonly takes a *μή* which to us seems superfluous (II. 1029; G. 1615), so a declarative sentence after such a verb may take an untranslatable *οὐ*; *ἀρνηθεῖν ἂν ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ* = *ἀρνηθεῖν ἂν μὴ εἶναι*. II. 1029 a. D. probably has Philokrates in mind; cf. § 39, note.

55. — *καὶ οὐχί . . . δεινόν*, *And this is not yet dangerous, although it is dangerous; And this, bad as it is, is not the worst*; a favorite form of expression with D. — *πολιτεύεσθαι*, *to shape the policy of the state*; L. & S. *πολιτεύω* B, II, 2. — *τὸ* goes with *ἐθέλειν*.

56. — For facts, see I. 28, 29. — *τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι*, *of the public men, of those engaged in public affairs*; cf. § 2, *τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν*. — *Φιλίππου*: pred. gen. after *ἦσαν*; *some were on Philip's side*. — *οἱ τοῦ βελτίστου*, *the adherents of the best* (i.e., *the patriotic*) *cause*. Most MSS. and editions omit *οἱ*. — *πράττοντες*. The clause *ὅπως . . . πολίται* depends upon *πράττοντες*. II. 885; G. 1372; L. & S. *πράσσω* II, 7. — *οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντες*, *those who were partisans of Philip*; cf. § 18, *τάκτειν φρονῆσαι*. The article goes also with *συκοφαντοῦντες* and *διαβάλλοντες*. — *ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις*, *while the city existed*.

57. — For facts, see I. 40, 41. — *Οὐ . . . οὐδαμοῦ*, *Now not among these only . . . and nowhere else*. — *οἱ μὲν . . . πράγματα*, *some were trying to attach the state to you*. *ἦγον* is imperfect of attempted action. — *ἀκούοντες . . . μᾶλλον* (sc. *ἢ ἐκείνων*), *But lending a readier ear in most matters to these* (i.e., *the latter*). — *τελευτῶντες*. II. 968 a; G. 1564; L. & S. *τελευτάω* II, 4.

58. — *καὶ γάρ τοι*. See IV, 6, note. — *σύμμαχος*. Most editions read *ὁ σύμμαχος*, or *ὁ σύμμαχος καὶ φίλος*. The words are bitterly ironical. — *σώζεσθαι*. As a passive, *σώζεσθαι* means (1) *to be saved*, (2) *to be safe, to prosper*, (3) *to escape*; as a middle, *to save for oneself*. Of these meanings, the last two are evidently inapplicable here. We may translate, *he has twice already driven them* (i.e., the phil-Athenian party), *wishing to be rescued, out of the country*, and interpret the words *βουλομένους σώζεσθαι* to mean that they wished to be saved from the dangerous political situation, from a tyranny supported by Macedonian arms.



59. — καὶ τί . . . ἄλλ'. Cf. § 25, at the beginning. τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν = *to speak of the great mass of cases, i.e., to go through the rest of the long list.* — ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ, *was working for Philip.* — ταῦτ': i.e., ὅτι Φιλίππῳ πράττουσιν. — Εὐφραῖος: sc. ἔπραττε, upon which the clause ὅπως . . . ἔσονται depends. Cf. above, § 56. πράττοντες, note. — ἄνθρωπος . . . οἰκήσας. The allusion to Euphræus's residence in Athens — where he is said to have been a disciple of Plato — is made with pride; the suggestion is that his love of liberty was acquired there.

60. — οὗτος . . . δήμου, *As to how this man was in other (lit. the other) ways insulted and foully wronged by the people, it would be possible to tell a long story.* τὰ ἄλλα is cogn. obj. of the verbs which follow. For its position and that of οὗτος before ὧς, see IV, 29, τοῦτ' ἄν, note. τὰ ἄλλα means the other wrongs than the one about to be named. — ἐνέδειξεν, *indicted.* — χορηγὸν . . . πρυτανευόμενοι (sc. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ), *having Philip as their choregus and prytanis, i.e., acting under Philip's direction.* — ἀπάγουσι. L. & S. ἀπάγω IV, 3.

61. — ἀντὶ . . . ἀποτυμπαίνσαι, *instead of helping him (Euphræus) and endgeling them (Philistides and his partisans) to death.* — ἐπιτήδειον, *deserving,* in predicate agreement with τὸν. — ἐπ' . . . ἡβούλοντο, *with as much freedom as they wished.* For ὁπόσῃς, see § 25, οἷς, note. — κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν, *were maturing their scheme.* — τῶν πολλῶν. Cf. IV, 29, τοῦτ' ἄν, note. — ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, *was silent and terror-stricken, was silent from terror.* — Εὐφραῖον. II. 878. — μεμνημένοι: plural, referring to τῖς. II. 609 a. — ῥῆξαι φωνήν. L. & S. ῥήγνυμι, I, 4. — διασκευασάμενοι, *in battle array.*

62. — τῆς πόλεως depends on ἄρχουσι and τυραννοῦσι. — τοὺς . . . ὄντας, *those who then rescued them and were ready to inflict any severity on Euphræus.* τότε refers to the time when Euphræus brought the indictment for treason above referred to; αὐτοὺς is an indirect reflexive, referring to οἱ μὲν, Philistides and his friends, whom the people saved by not supporting Euphræus. τοὺς — ὄντας is distributed into τοὺς μὲν and τοὺς δέ, *some and others;* cf. VI, 11.

63. — Τί . . . ἔχειν, *What in the world, then, is the cause, perhaps you wonder, of the fact that . . . were more favourably disposed.* An infinitive depending upon αἷτιος may stand (1) without the article, or (2) in the genitive with τοῦ, or (3) in the accusative, as here, with τό. ἔχειν refers to past time. — ὅπερ . . . ὅτι, *It is the fact which with you also is the cause of the same conduct, the fact, namely, that; it is, as in your case also, the fact that.* — οὐδὲ βουλομένοις, *not even if they wish to.* — πρὸς χάριν. See IV, 38, πρὸς ἡδονήν, note. — οἱ δ' . . . συμ-



πράττουσιν, *but the others, in their very flatteries, cooperate with Philip* ἐν οἷς is probably to be understood as standing for ἐν τοῖς αἰ. The clause οἷς χαρίζονται, being treated exactly like a substantive, has the intensive αὐτοῖς agreeing with it.

64. — εἰσφέρειν, *to pay taxes*; cf. IV, 7. — ἐκέλευον. The implied subject of this verb is οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγοντες, which, in view of the following οἱ δ', would be regularly represented here by οἱ μὲν. The context, however, leaves no doubt as to who are meant, and a certain emphasis seems to be gained by the omission. Rather different are the cases where the sentence starts out with no intention of a contrast, but by an afterthought a clause with οἱ δέ is added; e.g., Xen. Hell. I, 2, 14, ὥχοντο εἰς Δακείλειαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς Μίγαρον. — τὰλλα . . . πάνθ'. The words τὰλλα πάντα may be regarded as the object of some such word as ἐποίουν understood. II. 612. *In the same way, I think, with everything else.* — ἵνα . . . λέγω: cf. § 8, ἡ ἐνταῦθεν ἀρξώμαι, note. — οἱ μὲν are the same as the οἱ δ' above. — ἐφ' οἷς χαριούνται, *by which* (lit. *on which*) *they would please.* — πολλὰ . . . ἐνόμιζον, *And many things at the last the people accepted, not so much for their own pleasure even nor on account of ignorance, as sinking in despair, since they thought that they were utterly ruined*; i.e., at the last, seeing that their ruin was inevitable, they lost heart and let things take their course. πολλὰ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα literally = *many and the last things*, or τὰ τελευταῖα may be used adverbially, *at last.* — In place of οὐδὲ — οὐδέ, most MSS. read οὔτε — οὔτε. For the difference, see § 28, note. πρὸς χάριν is generally interpreted, *in order to please*, i.e., out of complaisance toward the statesmen, but perhaps it is used in the sense given above in the translation: cf. II. 805 c, end. οἱ πολλοὶ means *the people*, as distinguished from the statesmen. ἀλλ', *but*, is here used instead of ὥς, *as*, after οὐχ οὕτως; similarly we sometimes find οὐ μάλλον — ἀλλά. For τοῖς ὅλοις, see L. & S., ὅλος II, 2.

65. — ὁ κ.τ.λ. D.'s fear is that the Athenians in like manner will become disheartened and succumb. — πάθητε. L. & S. πάσχω III, 2. — ἐπειδὴν . . . ἐνόν, *when you know by careful consideration that nothing is in your power, that it is all over with you.* ἔναι, in the sense *to be possible* is regularly followed by the simple dative, and the ἐν of our text is omitted by most MSS. and editions. — καίτοι . . . Φιλίππου, *But now noty affairs not come, men of Athens, to this pass* (i.e., to a pass in which you can no longer do anything that will help you); *but (if they should) it is better to die ten thousand deaths than to do anything in the way of jurning upon Philip.* Expressions like τεθνάναι μυριάκις, *milies perire*, are common in Greek and Latin.

The combination of *μυριάκις* with *κρείττον* is also admissible (cf. Plat. Rep. 587 e).

66. — *καλήν γ' . . . χάριν*, a fine return have the masses of Oreeos now received. *γε* adds emphasis to the ironical *καλήν*. — *έώθουν*, were repelling, stroke against; a prolonged act, and hence expressed by the imperf. — *μαστιγούμενοι καὶ σφαττόμενοι*, under the lash and the axe.

67. — *τά τοιαῦτα*, such things as the Oreitæ, Eretrians, and Olynthians hoped for, i.e., that no great harm would befall them. — *τηλικαύτην — τό μέγεθος*, so great in size. — *ώστε . . . πείσεσθαι*, that in no event will you suffer severely. The phrase *μηδ' ἂν ότιοῦν ἤ*, literally, not even if anything whatever exist, occurs also in Dem. xix, 324: similarly, Dem. xviii, 168. *οὐδ' εἴ τι γένοιτο*; Plato, Krito, 49. C, *οὐδ' ἂν ότιοῦν πάσχη*, etc. *δεινὸν πείσεσθαι* is used here like *δεινὸν τι πείσεσθαι* or *δεινὰ πείσεσθαι*.

68. — *τίς . . . ποιῆσαι*, Why, who would have expected these things to happen? Good Heavens, we of course ought to have done this and this, and not to have done this. For the tense of *γενέσθαι*, in place of which we should expect a future, cf. M. 99. *γάρ* has not here in either sentence its causal value; for its use in questions, see IV, 10, *γένοιτο γάρ ἂν*, note; for the meaning *certainly* in the second sentence, see Baumelein, Griechische Partikeln, p. 70. For the use of *τόδ*, see II. 655 b; G. 984. — *νῦν* and *τότ'* are emphatic by position. For *τότ'*, see IV, 29, *τοῦτ' ἂν*, note.

69. — *σώζηται*, is safe; cf. § 58, *σώζεσθαι*, note. — *ἂν τε — ἂν τ'*. Cf. § 16. — *καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην*, both sailor and pilot. In the use of *ναύτην* for *ναύτας* and in the omission of the article, the Greek expression may be exactly reproduced in English. — *πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς*, every man in order, i.e., without exception. — *υπέρσχη*, has broken over it.

70. — *καὶ ἡμεῖς*. Cf. IV, 41, *καὶ ἡμεῖς*, note. — *έως ἔσμεν σώοι*. The indicative is used here because the clause refers to the actual present case, whereas *έως ἂν σώζεται* above refers to an indefinite assumed case. Cf. II. 909, G. 1427 with II. 914 B. G. 1431. — *τί . . . κάθηται*, What shall we do? some one of the audience has perhaps long been wishing to ask. This is a rhetorical substitute for the natural conclusion, *we must exert ourselves in like manner*. The words *ἡδέως ἂν ἕως ἐρωτήσων* have been variously explained. (1) They may be the equivalent of *ὅς ἡδέως ἂν ἕως ἐρωτήσει*. The only objection to this is the rare occurrence in Attic writers of *ἂν* with future forms; see M. 197, 216. (2) Some editors enclose the words *ἡδέως ἂν ἕως* in

commas, and supply with them *ἐρωτῶν* or *τοῦτο παῶν*, an explanation which seems forced and unnatural. (3) Others, without MS. authority, change *ἐρωτήσων* to *ἐρωτήσας*, so that the words = *ὅς ἡδὺς ἂν ὥς ἐρωτήσῃ* (or perhaps rather *ἡρώτησε*). — *καὶ γράψω δὲ*, *and will notice too*. II. 1042, line 7. — *ἂν βούλησθε*. Cf. IV, 30, *ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκῃ*, note. — *παρασκευαζόμενοι*, *preparing ourselves*, a direct middle; in the next section *παρασκευασμένοι* means *having prepared for ourselves*, an indirect middle. — *λέγω*, *I mean*.

71. — *ταῦτα δὴ*. The sentence, having been interrupted by the parenthesis, takes here a fresh start. *δὴ* is resumptive. — *τοὺς ἄλλους*: i.e., the Greeks of other states than Athens. *τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας πρέσβεις*: i.e., ambassadors who shall announce that we are ready and intending to resist Philip. For the construction, see § 11, *τοὺς ἀπολογησόμενους*, note. — *ἂν τι δέῃ*. Cf. IV, 16. — *εἰ δὲ μή . . . πράγμασιν*, *but if not, you may at any rate introduce delay into events*. The idea is that Athens, by taking a firm and threatening attitude, can at least temporarily arrest Philip's movements, as in the case mentioned in the next section. For *εἰ δὲ μή*, where we should expect *ἐὰν δὲ μή*, see II. 906 a; G. 1417.

72. — *ἐπειδὴ . . . πόλεμος*. The idea is that delay is much more valuable in dealing with an individual, subject to mortal accidents, than in dealing with a permanent, well-organized (*συνεστῶσα*) state. — *οὐδὲ — οὐδ'*. See § 28, note. — *τοῦτ'*, *this* particular measure for gaining time. — *αἱ . . . Πελοπόννησον*: *sc. ἄχρηστοι ἐγένοντο*. For the position of the attributive phrase, *περὶ τὴν Π.*, see IV, 17, second note; for the historical fact, I. 42. — *ὥς . . . περιήλθομεν*. The relative has *πρεσβείαι* and *κατηγορίαι* as its antecedents. *περιέρχεσθαι πρεσβείας* is a regular illustration of the cognate accusative; and though there are no exact analogies for *περιέρχεσθαι κατηγορίας*, yet the combination *περιέρχεσθαι πρεσβείας καὶ κατηγορίας* does not seem a harsh one. The nouns may, in fact, be regarded as forming a hendiadys, the meaning being, *accusatory embassies*. — *Πολύευκτος — Ἥγησιππος*: two adherents of the party of Demosthenes. *ἐκείνοσιν* is used in pointing at a person present. — *καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν*. In English we supply a relative: *and by which we brought it about*. Cf. IV, 35, *ἔχει*, note. — *ἐπισχεῖν*. Cf. IV, 1, *ἐπισχῶν*, note.

73. — *λέγω*, *I propose*. L. & S. *λέγω* (c). 6. — *αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*. Cf. IV, 24, *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ*, note. — *τοῖς μὲν . . . ποιεῖν*. I. 46. — *αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζεσθαι*: like *αὐτοὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι*, § 70.

74. — *Χαλκιδέας — Μεγαρέας*. Chalkis and Megara were in alliance with Athens. I. 40, 41. — *τὰ πράγματα*, *trouble*. — *ἀγαπητὸν* (*sc.*

ἐκείνοις ἐστὶ), *they are content*. — τοῦτο τὸ γέρας : i.e., the noble task of protecting Greece.

75. — ὃ βούλεται, *what he likes*, instead of his duty. — οὐδὲ μὴ ποθ' εὖρη. See IV, 44, οὐδέποτε' . . . δεόντων, note. — δέδοικα ὅπως μὴ. II. 887 a ; G. 1379 ; M. 370. — πάνθ' ἅμα, *everything at once*. Cf. VI, 6, πάντων ὁμοίως ; IX, 69, πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς.

## APPENDIX.

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THE text of the Third Philippic exists in two different forms, of which the one contains a number of passages of considerable length which are omitted in the other. The shorter form is that of the manuscripts called Σ and Λ, which are preserved respectively at Paris and Florence, and are generally considered the best; the other and longer form is that of the other manuscripts. Opinions vary widely as to the origin of these differences, some scholars holding all or part of the passages in question to be genuine and to have been only accidentally omitted from Σ and Λ, others regarding them as pseudo-Demosthenic interpolations in the inferior manuscripts; while still another view, perhaps the most probable, is that they are from the hand of Demosthenes, but were omitted by him in the final recension of the oration. The text of this edition, being based upon that of Σ, gives the briefer form. The principal additions contained in the vulgate are the following:—

### 1. Following § 5:

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν παριόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ῥᾶιστα αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτως ἀτόπως ἔνιοι διάκεινται ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικοῦντος ἀνέχεσθαί τινων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολλάκις ὥς ἡμῶν τινές εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη

φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθοῦσθαι περὶ τούτου· ἔστι γὰρ δέος μὴ ποθ' ὥς ἀμυνούμεθα γράψας τις καὶ συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι, εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ πότερον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ.

2. At the end of § 32, after πέμπει :

κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας παρόδων ἐστί, καὶ φρουραίς καὶ ξείνοις τοὺς τόπους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριεὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἅπασι μέτεστιν;

3. At the end of § 41, after ἀκρόπολιν :

οὐχ ἴσα αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων τῶν γραμμῶν τὰ δέοντα ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμεῖς ἔχητε ὑπομνήματα καὶ παραδείγματα ὥς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων σπουδάζειν προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα;

4. In § 46, after πῶς :

ἵστε αὐτοί· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ἑλληνες. διόπερ φημὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σπουδῆς πολλῆς καὶ βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα προσδεῖσθαι· τίνος;

5. At the end of § 58, after σώζεσθαι :

τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος.

6. In § 71, after πρόσβεις :

πανταχοῦ (πανταχοῦ), εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλεία λέγω (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῦτον ἑᾶσαι πάντα καταστρέψασθαι).



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